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# ON THE EVE OF WAR

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# Through Europe on the Eve of War

A Record of Personal Experiences; Including an Account of the First World Conference of The Churches for International Peace

BY

FREDERICK LYNCH, D.D.

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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Whose Munificence and Whose Unfailing Certitude that
Religion and Goodwill Are One
Made Possible
The First World Conference of the Churches
for International Peace

# Through Europe on the Eve of War

**A Record of Personal Experiences; Including an Account of the First World Conference of The Churches for International Peace**

## CHAPTER I.

## THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE WAR

On Saturday morning, August 1st, at three o'clock, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, and I were sleeping soundly in one of the comfortable compartments of the cars belonging to the International Sleeping Car Company, when we were suddenly seized by the shoulders by the guard and shaken out of our deep slumbers. "Get out as fast as you can," he said. "The Germans have blown up the track on the frontier just ahead of us and seized three French engines, and the quicker we get out of this the better." This was our first taste of war!

Not altogether our first personal touch with it, though. For on the preceding evening we had witnessed heart-breaking scenes, and we had been in Paris three days and had observed conditions on the streets and in the cafés. But the most pathetic scene of all was that in the Gare de l'Est. Our train was to leave at 9:15 Friday evening for Basel. We imagined that there would be a crowd, for the German Government had sent out an order that day for every German to get out of Paris immediately. This was one of those ominous things that made all Europe begin to distrust Germany, even when she was

talking peace. When we reached the station, an hour before train time, the scene was most pitiable. The whole place was packed and jammed with a great mob of poor Germans fleeing from Paris. One could hardly pick his way through the confused mass of men, women, children and baggage. There were no porters to help, and the fathers and mothers were trying to carry all their baggage and babies together, while the poor little tots who could barely creep had to get on as best they could.

After we had found our compartment we had three-quarters of an hour to spare. We walked back to the station to see and to help—and to learn how horrible even the preludes of war are. We helped where we could. It was a fine sight to see Dr. Macfarland lugging little, fat, screaming German babies under his arms and dumping them through car windows into their mothers' laps. Each mother had probably carried the babies and several pieces of baggage as well. It should be said at just this point that, contrary to the attitude of the soldiers later on, the French porters and guards showed every kindness to these fleeing Germans. They had probably never before in all their lives worked so hard, nor amid such confusion, but they were patient, and gentle toward the women and children, carried piles of baggage to the compartments, with no hope of the inevitable fee, and in several instances I saw these Frenchmen patting the little German boys on the head when they were screaming with fright at the confused and strange proceedings.

This was the first fruits of war. In this great mob —many of whom had to sit on their baggage all night

long as train after train was made up, while the children slept on the cold stone floors—were mothers who had to get up from beds of child-birth and carry babies one and two weeks old. There were many mothers carrying little children who were ill with all sorts of diseases, and to whom that night's exposure meant certain death. There were many invalids who were—it was a pitiable sight—trying to drag themselves along to their cars with canes and crutches. There were old men and women who could hardly crawl trying to reach the train and take some little treasures from their homes. Those who could not walk at all had to be carried, as the babies and baggage were carried, in whatever arms could be found. They were dumped into trains so crowded that there was no chance for either the sick or the children to lie down.

Most of these families had nice little homes in Paris, and were on the friendliest terms with their neighbors. The men were, for the most part, artisans and skilled workmen. We talked with one of these men, who was afterwards dumped out with us at Petit Croix at three o'clock the following morning. He was very fond of his French fellow-workingmen, and was evidently popular with them. He belonged to the same union. When the telegram came for him to flee from Paris immediately, he took his two tow-headed boys of five and two, got together what few belongings he and his wife could carry in their hands, and turned over *the rest of their property to the care of a French fellow-workingman, who shed tears when they left and promised to take all care of their possessions.* "And in a few weeks you will be trying to kill each other?" we asked. He simply shrugged his

shoulders in reply. Perhaps right here lies the chief hope for ultimate eradication of war in Europe. These two men had no quarrel. They were fellow-workingmen, comrades, warmest friends. They had one common interest in life. They sipped their coffee together in each other's homes; they went together to the same meetings of the Social Democracy; they and their wives and children went picnicking together at St. Germain on Sunday afternoons. But at a command from some one they have never seen; from a government that has probably done nothing but oppress them; for a cause of which they have never heard, they must take positions on opposite sides of a frontier and begin shooting at each other. Generally, as in the present awful cataclysm, there is no cause at first—simply a stubborn insistence on revenge by one power, and the wicked support of her by another, when she would not yield to arbitration, even at the request of her supporting ally. We Americans all came to feel, I think, that the chief hope was in the workingmen of Germany, Russia and France, awaking to the fact that they were simply dupes, fools, pawns in the hands of avaricious and unscrupulous governments. The military cliques at the capitals play games and use the masses as pawns; it would be more exact to say as footballs. Or the capitalists desire more territory, and they breed a war, and send out the poor workingmen, whom they have already been bleeding all their lives, to kill their brother workingmen in order to gain this new territory. And they go, thinking it is duty, patriotism, what-not. But, poor fools, they will come to their senses some day and will not go. This present collapse of Europe was brought on entirely by a little clique

of crazy Servians, high up in the government, killing an Austrian prince, and the Austrian court seeking revenge on this clique. Neither group has ever given the great masses of the people any thought, except how to use them for carrying out intrigues and aggressions. The workingmen of neither country know anything of what is going on at court. But suddenly they are arrayed against each other, and soon all the workingmen of Europe (it is practically only the workingmen who are sent to war) are drawn up in battle array just because of a quarrel of two cliques of which they know nothing and which never cared anything for them.

On the night of August 3d we came through Liege. Two days afterwards the German Government committed the unpardonable crime of violating the treaty of neutrality with Belgium and ordered her soldiers to attack Liege, the beautiful frontier town of this happy little nation, safe, as it supposed, in its neutrality.

It was this unpardonable crime on Germany's part that drew England into the war. But here is my point: *Those twenty-five thousand poor German soldiers who were killed or wounded in that awful battle thought they were fighting Frenchmen who were trying to get into Germany.* As a matter of fact, the French had made no move up to this time and were still trying to secure peace by negotiations with the other powers.

There are some signs that the workingmen of Europe are awaking to the hollowness and sham of all this war business, and perhaps one of the outcomes of this conflict may be a clearer vision and a more courageous following of the ideals they are already holding. I happened to attend some of the sessions of the Social Democrats

held at Stuttgart six or seven years ago. One of the great debates was on the question or whether or not, when a general European war should be called, the German and French workingmen, both in the shop and on the railroads, should strike. This general strike would of course paralyze all activity. The time had not come to carry such a measure, although a surprisingly large number were ready to vote it. But we recall with what enthusiasm Germans and French clasped hands that day and said: "We German and French workingmen will not bear arms against each other, except to defend our country if attacked." Poor fellows, they meant well, but they lost courage when the crisis came, and were caught up in the great, mad war preparation. Many tried to hold out, however, in Germany, as well as in France, and remained true to their vows. In Berlin meetings of workingmen were held to protest against the position the government was taking and against the plunging of Europe into war. Some brave speeches were made. Then the Kaiser suddenly forbade the holding of assemblies anywhere in Germany as a wholesale method of checking the agitation of the democracy. After this the poor workingman had to take up arms or be shot.

In Paris, where there is more freedom of speech than anywhere else in the world, I witnessed several processions of workingmen passing through the streets of Paris crying *"A Bas la Guerre"* ("To Hell with War"). Of course there were groups on the sidewalks who cried in opposition *"Vive la Patrie," "Vive la France,"* but the striking thing was that such numbers could walk through the streets of Paris crying out against war, and not be molested. Indeed, at this time, five days before the war

broke out, we found the feeling in Paris was one of sadness rather than of war fever. This changed two days after we left when France found, that in spite of all the efforts for peace she was making, in company with England, Germany was bound to drag her into the war. But every French workingman with whom we talked shook his head and said: "It is all very sad." Again let me say, I think the chief hope is with the workingman and I think he will see this ever more clearly after this war.

I hope also that the Church will have her eyes opened as a result of the Purgatory through which she must now pass. She was just awaking to her duty when this war came. For five years the Churches of Great Britain and Germany have been doing splendid work. For five years the Churches of America, through the Federal Council of Churches, have been speaking boldly on this subject. Last year The Church Peace Union was founded, and it held its World Conference of the Churches in Germany right in the teeth of war. The story of this conference and the experience of its delegates in crossing Germany to England will be told in the succeeding chapters of this book. But I believe this catastrophic collapse of the nations will at last convince the Church that Jesus Christ has no part with a civilization that can bring forth nothing better than Hell for all Europe.

## CHAPTER II.

## FROM PARIS TO BASEL: AN INTERRUPTED SLEEP

The cause of our being on the train from Paris to Basel was the Conference of the Churches of the United States and Europe to be held at Constance, Germany, to consider how the churches might together help on the cause of international goodwill, and persuade the nations to raise their dealings with each other to that high ethical plane already reached by all good and even respectable men. In February of this year Andrew Carnegie, Esq., created a corporation of twenty-eight trustees chosen from the highest dignitaries of the churches and most eminent leaders in religious and social progress of all denominations in America, and endowed it with $2,000,000 under the name of "The Church Peace Union." The trustees immediately elected me as the Secretary of the new foundation, and I was glad to accept, because of the great opportunities this munificent gift offered to enlist the churches more directly in the growing movement to Christianize our international relationships. These relationships linger far behind our personal relationships in their ethical character, yes, are even Pagan. One of the men whom Mr. Carnegie had taken into his confidence while planning his new gift was J. Allen Baker, M. P., of London, a man of rare qualities, who had built up the remarkable organization of the English churches for peace, called "The British Council of Churches for Fostering Friendly Relations between Great Britain and Germany."

Mr. Baker was in New York for a while before Mr. Carnegie made his gift, and we saw Mr. Carnegie almost daily. When Mr. Carnegie intimated to us his decision, one of the things we all three rejoiced in was that now we could bring all the churches of Europe and America together for a conference on the Church and international goodwill. Mr. Carnegie made his gift on February 10th, and at the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Union I asked for an appropriation of $10,000 to bring about this thing of which I had dreamed for years. If I remember rightly it was the first appropriation made by the Union.

An Advisory Committee of six trustees, consisting of Doctors Charles S. Macfarland, John R. Mott, William I. Hull and James J. Walsh and Mr. Edwin D. Mead, was appointed to act with the Secretary in taking immediate steps to call such a conference. We at once got into correspondence with Mr. Baker of London and Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze of Berlin, Secretary of the German Councils of the Churches. Berne, the capital of Switzerland, and also the center of many international movements, was first fixed upon as the best place to hold the conference, but was abandoned when it was learned that the Swiss National Exposition was to be held there. Zurich was then suggested, but Constance was eventually chosen, as it was thought by the German and British secretaries that it would both please Germany to call the conference on German soil and attract the attention of the German press, which was not much given to reporting peace meetings. The date was fixed for August 2d to 5th, and nothing remained to be done but to secure the delegates wanted. Mr. Carnegie invited the trustees of

The Church Peace Union to go as his personal guests, and the committee, acting in co-operation with the Federal Council of Churches, selected fifty other delegates from among the churches. This selection was made on a double basis of denominational representation and leadership in the peace movement. Great Britain, Germany, and other European nations selected delegates at the same time, and, as will appear later, in spite of all the difficulties in the way, two-thirds of these delegates from the various countries reached Constance and held their conference.

This explains why Dr. Macfarland and I were on this particular train from Paris to Basel. We had left New York together for the conference on July 21st, sailing by the Aquitania for Liverpool. On the same steamer were four other delegates, Doctors Ernest H. Abbott of the *Outlook,* Walter Laidlaw, Rivington D. Lord and William P. Merrill. Mrs. Merrill was also with us. When we sailed from New York there was no slightest sign or rumor of war. We, and the sixty other delegates sailing by other steamers, were looking forward to a meeting that should both mark and make history. It was the first time that the churches of all the nations had assembled to talk over the reign of justice, law and peace. No one dreamed of war even between Austria and Servia. The wicked and foolish assassination of the Austrian Grand Duke and his wife had shaken Europe; but Austria had remained remarkably cool and it looked as if war were not to be the outcome of it. It was on the third day out that the daily paper published by the ship contained the announcement that Austria had declared war against Servia. Even then we thought it must be a

rumor, or simply a representation to Servia demanding certain reparations. It was not until we landed and read the impossible note which had been sent by Austria to Servia on July 23d that we realized the danger that threatened Europe.

We reached London Monday night, July 27th. London was calm, and, although the nations on the Continent were getting frightened, Sir Edward Grey was corresponding with the powers, and hope was everywhere expressed that Austria would stay active warfare until there could be a conversation of representatives of the powers at London or elsewhere to see if there could not be some method of satisfying the Austrian demands without resort to war. We hastened on to Paris, and there, Wednesday evening, it became apparent that Europe was getting nervous. Russia, fearing that Austria would not be satisfied with simply punishing Servia, but would annex her, or destroy her independence, was beginning to mobilize her forces. Everyone felt sure that Germany would begin to mobilize if Russia did. If Germany mobilized, then France would feel bound to follow, out of fear of Germany. Rumors also began to spread that Sir Edward Grey was not meeting with success in his negotiations with Germany and Austria.

We remained in Paris three days and the air was charged with electricity. The city was calm, but everything was tense. On July 27th Servia had replied to the Austrian note. The reply practically acquiesced in all of Austria's demands, but it was evident that Austria was bound to go to war no matter what the reply of Servia might have been. On July 27th the British Ambassador at Vienna wrote Sir Edward Grey:

"I have had conversations with all my colleagues representing the Great Powers. The impression left on my mind is that the Austro-Hungarian note was so drawn up as to make war inevitable; that the Austro-Hungarian government are fully resolved to have war with Servia; that they consider their position as a Great Power to be at stake, and that until punishment has been administered to Servia it is unlikely that they will listen to proposals of mediation. This country has gone wild with joy at the prospect of war with Servia, and its postponement or prevention would undoubtedly be a great disappointment."

In Paris there was more sadness than jubilation. I have already referred to the demonstrations against the war. On the other hand, the cinemas were everywhere displaying moving pictures of President Poincaré's visit to Russia and these were witnessed with great enthusiasm. The police had taken the precaution to clear the streets of chairs on the Boulevard des Italiens, where usually thousands sit during the evenings drinking their coffee. Great swarms of people were on the streets watching the bulletin boards of the various journals. Every edition of the evening papers was snatched up immediately. Everywhere men were selling charts showing the relative strength of the armies of Europe. Everybody knew war was imminent, but the majority were hoping that something would happen to avert it. France acted nobly to the last and, as appears from the diplomatic correspondence which has been printed in the famous "White Book" and which Dr. Macfarland has reviewed in Appendix V, strained every nerve to preserve the peace of Europe, even to keeping her soldiers back several miles from the frontier during the mobiliza-

tion forced upon her, to avoid any indiscreet act against Germans by an irritated soldiery. When Friday night came things looked ominous. All the nations were beginning to mobilize. The German government had declared the nation in a state of preparation for war. But we felt it our duty to proceed to Constance, because we, the organizers of the conference, must go there if one other soul should put in an appearance.

I have described the sights at the station. Our train was the regular express which runs from Paris to Basel via Belfort and Muelhausen. This route would carry us through a little edge of German territory, where Alsace-Lorraine juts down between France and Switzerland. It was here that the trouble came. That very night, while we were sleeping on the train, Germany closed her frontiers to all foreigners. We had gone on beyond Belfort and had reached the little station at Petit Croix, a few miles from the frontier, when the train was held up by the station master and the news imparted that Germany had closed the frontier and torn up the tracks. A great, sleepy, shivering crowd was dumped down on the platform, and no one knew what awaited us. For some unaccountable reason the train backed out toward Belfort without taking us back. I imagine the crew were so frightened that they did not know just what they were doing, except that they were getting far away from the German frontier as fast as they could. For three long hours, from three to six o'clock, we stood shivering and starving at this small country station. Little sleepy boys and girls were crying and mothers were trying to keep their babies warm.

At last a train was made up and we were all bundled

in, but no one knew where we were to go, except that they had been ordered to carry us back to Belfort, the garrison town, and the junction where a road runs off to the south into Switzerland. It would be possible to reach Basel that way by a long detour through Switzerland without crossing German territory. But no one knew whether we were to be carried that way or carried back to Paris. In time we reached Belfort, and here everything was "confusion worse confounded." Train after train kept pouring in from all parts of France with passengers bound for Switzerland and the German town of Muelhausen. When the passengers for Muelhausen learned that the tracks were torn up they were filled with blank dismay. They were mostly Germans hurrying out of France. To remain in France longer was dangerous, for the war fever was spreading, and that meant that friendly men would soon become beasts and no German's life would be secure. If they could get into Switzerland their lives would be safe, but it meant a long delay and detour and many of them had no money. Their distress was pitiable. I found one German woman with three children, all under six, trying to get along with them and several pieces of baggage and no porter to help her. Later I had the satisfaction of carrying the chubby boys to the train, while others helped her with the baggage. The French had been kindly the night before, but now news had spread all over France that Germany had madly decided to wage war on France and this had changed the kindliness into a wild rage against Germans. It began to be noticeable at Belfort, and even German women and babies were liable to violence and insult. War in our days knows no manners,

no humanity and no religion. All talk about humanizing war is pure buncombe, as the recent struggles in the Balkans showed and as this war will also soon reveal. The majority of the people being emptied out of the trains were from Calais and Paris, bound for Switzerland. We remained in our car not knowing whether we were to go to Basel, back to Paris, or to remain right there. The officials knew nothing more than we. For three hours we sat there, except for a few moments when at seven o'clock the station restaurant opened and the mob rushed for coffee and rolls. Here again we had a chance to render service in getting something to eat for the German women and children, although it is doubtful if the attendants would have sold us the bread had they known it was for little German boys and girls. It was only the day before in a café in Paris that I heard a Frenchman say that he would like to have the job of splitting every German baby in two with a sword.

While we were waiting there the train came in from Calais and our hearts leaped with joy when we saw J. Allen Baker, M. P., the Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M. P., and a dozen more of the English delegates alighting from the train. Their train was also billed to go through by way of Muelhausen, and here they were stranded with us. Finally I managed to get hold of the stationmaster for a moment and told him that we had to get to Basel somehow, and he intimated that the cars we were in would be sent through by a southern route. The guard of our sleeping car was a nice fellow and made every effort to get our car put through. Soon he came and told us that the cars which had been sent back from Petit Croix would be put through to Basel. Thereupon,

the English delegates were all packed into our already overcrowded car, and sitting on satchels and standing in aisles we were eventually started for Basel.

The ride to Basel was eventful, for we got our first glimpses of a nation mobilizing its army. We had about two hours to ride through France before reaching the Swiss border. Belfort is a garrison town, and in every village we saw the soldiers gathering to be hurried there. Over every hilltop we saw companies of soldiers marching in long lines, with hurried steps, to join the regiments. At every station we saw crowds of men and boys who had been taken right off the farms and out of the factories and shops, and were corralled in the station awaiting transportation to Belfort. These were the reservists, and the moment we saw that they were being mobilized we knew the situation was serious. We had had no news, but rumors were everywhere rife that Germany was mobilizing all her forces. Every man who knew the temper of Germany knew that this meant war. These crowds were mostly drunk with much brandy and were hoarse with singing the Marseillàise and yelling: "To hell with Germany." At one station, as several hundreds of these poor French boys, more intoxicated than the rest, caught sight of the German with his wife and babies, who were still with us, at a window of the train, they nearly frightened the life out of him and his wife by cursing him and shaking fists at him. At last they threatened to pull him out of the window and pound him to pieces, but an officer came along and pounded them over the heads with his sword and drove them, as if they were pigs, into a pen, and passed them several more buckets full of liquor. At every station were

swarms of women and children bidding good-bye to dear ones, and there was much weeping. Poor things, they had much cause to weep, for it was just this crowd which was, within ten days, sent up from Belfort to Muelhausen to fight the first big battle between the French and Germans. Most of them now lie dead in the fields around that beautiful city.

It was a great relief to get into Switzerland. While the nation was mobilizing a few of its troops for policing its frontiers, on the whole it was calm, and at the station both railroad men and soldiers were rendering every assistance to travelers, regardless of nationality. Especially did the Germans appreciate the reaching of this haven. For as yet Switzerland supposed that Germany would be true to the treaties of neutrality, and was as friendly to Germans as to all others. Poor Switzerland, too, has now been forced to mobilize her whole army and expects to have to fight Germany. For when she saw Germany deliberately violate the most holy treaties in existence—those of neutrality—all her confidence in Germany disappeared.

At last we reached Basel, and found that to get to Constance we must go away up to Schaffhausen first and then east to the beautiful city on the lake. It was impossible to believe, as the train followed the edge of the Rhine from Basel to Schaffhausen, with the exquisite scenes of peace and beauty unfolding before us, one after another, with the prosperous, happy villages, some old, with quaint, red-roofed houses, clothed in vines and flowers, others new, with factories and shops betokening the new industrial development, that soon all this would be devastated by fire and pillage, or else be left

to decay by the withdrawal of all the men to go and kill some other working men in equally happy towns Everywhere the green fields and red-roofed villages were bathed in peace and evening sunlight. As we approached Constance the train ran for miles along the wondrous lake, where again all was calm and twilight beauty. Across the waters slept the old town, with the towers of the cathedral outlined against the pink sky. Only in the heart of man was there tumult, passion, enmity, and revenge. Nature was in tune with God. Man was getting in tune with the Devil.

## CHAPTER III.

## IN THE UPPER CHAMBER AT CONSTANCE

We reached Constance at 7:30 Saturday evening, August 1st. We had not heard any definite news since the night before, but everything looked ominous in the ancient city. We found about thirty of our American delegates already there, all in a state of some nervousness, which was greatly relieved when we appeared. They were afraid we were not going to be able to get through, as the German government was everywhere mobilizing troops and the trains were becoming uncertain. Furthermore, Germany was beginning to exclude foreigners. Just as we got there an order went out from Berlin that no Frenchmen should be allowed to enter Germany, and, had it not been that especial exception was made for the Frenchmen at our Conference, the French delegates would have had to remain in Switzerland. Many of the delegates whom we found there had come down through Germany the day before. Their experiences with the news of the evening had made them timorous, and when I arrived they surrounded me and put the question: "Shall we hold the Conference or make for England immediately before Germany and France close their doors absolutely and seize all trains for mobilizing troops?" It was finally decided that the business committee of the Conference, the American members of which were Bishop E. R. Hendrix, Edwin D. Mead, Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., and myself, should meet immediately after dinner and decide upon the next step after full conference with

Dr. Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze of Berlin, who not only knew something of the German situation, but who had that day been in touch with the Kaiser, and with the Grand Duchess of Baden, between whom and him there exists a peculiar and intimate friendship.

We all ate dinner in the garden on the edge of the Lake. Constance is one of the quaintest of German towns. It is also historically famous, for it was here that John Huss was tried and condemned by the great Council of Constance, which met here in 1414 and sat for three and one-half years. The old church remains the same as when he was unfrocked in it and sent forth to execution. A stone set in the center of the great floor marks the spot where he stood. A monument has been erected where he and Jerome of Prague were burned at the stake. The Insel Hotel, where we were staying and where the Conference was to be held, was the old Dominican monastery where he was imprisoned. The monastery remains practically the same, except that the furnishings have been modernized. The great refectory with its massive high columns and arches has been left untouched and is now the hotel dining room. The wonderful cloisters are there just as when the monks walked round and round them years ago. The walls of the cloisters have been painted with famous scenes in the history of the monastery and hotel. The monastery was built on an island and is approached by a bridge from the rear. When one walks through the hotel by the North cloister and reading room one steps out on a terrace to see the great Baden See or Lake of Constance spread out in the deep blue of evening or the emerald green of noon, with the snow-clad Alps towering towards the heavens

forty miles across the waters. It is an idyllic spot either for rest or conference of high-minded men together. The whole island is covered with a profuse growth of trees and flowering shrubs, among which winding paths of gravel have been laid. To the south of the hotel there is a large space which has been reserved for tables, and on warm evenings dinner is served there.

At eight that evening, under quiet stars, with no noise except the lapping of little waves, we ate our evening meal. Most of us were silent, for we felt that around that peaceful haven the tumult of the world was gathering into a great storm.

At nine o'clock the business committee met and for an hour deliberated over the steps to be taken. Here were thirty-five Americans, sixteen Englishmen and some representatives of eleven other nations.* It would be a pity if we should run away right when our word was most needed by the nations. Actual war had not been declared. Dr. Siegmund-Schultze informed us that the Kaiser knew all about our Conference and had given it his sanction although all public meetings had been forbidden in Germany,** and had telegraphed the authorities at Constance to grant us every privilege and protection. We were in no danger there. The only question was whether or not we ought to leave by the first train before war actually broke out. The status of things at that moment, so far as we could learn, was that every nation except

* Since this Conference will be historic, it seems only proper to print the full list of those present. (See Appendix I.)

** This decree to the police to forbid all public assemblies had been issued to prevent the Socialists holding anti-war demonstrations.

England was mobilizing as fast as possible; that negotiations between Germany and France had been broken off; that Germany had sent her arbitrary ultimatum to Russia and that England was straining every nerve to bring the representatives of the nations together, even at the last moment, for a conference. (As was afterwards revealed when the official correspondence was published, at that last moment Austria yielded and expressed willingness to treat with Russia, but Germany would not withdraw her ultimatum and enter the conference of the powers.) The advice of the braver members prevailed and it was voted to proceed with the meetings of the Conference, await the turn of events, and not run away. In view of the fact that practically all the delegates were there, and that those who were due on Monday could not possibly reach there it was also voted to begin the sessions on Sunday morning instead of waiting until Monday.

Sunday, August 2nd, will remain one of the most memorable Sundays in the lives of all the delegates. In view of the awful catastrophe hanging over Europe it seemed no time for debate. Only prayer was fitting in the gathering darkness. It was a sweet and beautiful Sabbath morning, but in our hearts we heard all over Europe the roll of war drums, the tread of marching feet, the hoarse cries of soldiers for the blood of their fellow-men. Even while we were gathering for prayer the stillness was broken by the sounds of soldiers marching and drunken men in the village still yelling for war after the whole night's debauch. (I would not give the impression that all the people of Constance were yelling for war. It was only the soldiers and the poor thought-

less youth. The majority of the people were sad and knew not why their nation was going to war, knew not the necessity of Germany bringing the Hell of 1870 and the Napoleonic days upon the people.) At 10 a. m. the whole body had assembled in the little hall above the dining room—the room where five hundred years ago the famous Council of Constance had often met to discuss the grave problems of heresy and the problems of the Reformation. There were about eighty of us present and there was no desire of one to speak to another.

A solemn hush brooded over the assembly. Every heart was aching. The burden of a world about to be plunged into purgatory weighed heavily on every heart. Everyone knew that on that Sunday the fate of Europe, of civilization, perhaps of Christianity itself was to be decided. Russia had not answered. France as well as Germany was mobilizing. Only England as yet had not begun preparations for immediate war. As we afterwards learned England was that day straining every nerve to keep Germany from plunging recklessly into the strife. There was nothing to do but pray.

Mr. Baker was in the chair, and with tears in his eyes told of the remarkable work that had been accomplished by the British and German churches to establish goodwill between the two nations. A group of men of goodwill existed in each nation whose friendship no wars could break. It looked as if this were all to go for nought —to be wasted in a moment. But we must not believe that. Such work could never be in vain. If war came, after it was over there would be this foundation on which to build anew. Even then it was not too late. It seemed incredible to him that all Europe should go to

war even considering the steps toward war that had already been taken. Let us all pray to God with all our hearts that He avert this dire catastrophe.

Before the prayers Bishop E. R. Hendrix of Kansas City, Missouri, and Bishop John L. Nuelsen of Zürich, Switzerland, were asked to say a few words that our hearts might be attuned to our high purposes and our faith sustained as the Kingdom of God seemed ready to fall all about us. Their remarks were of that prophetic nature that lifted them into prayer and, like prayer, would lose their high character in print. Bishop Hendrix's words were a call to cling to God with renewed fervor, to keep our faith that even above a sinful, confused world His hand ruled; that out of men's blindness and passion He would bring some ultimate good. He believed that if this awful war came, out of it the world might learn that their trust in brute power and force was vain. Here was the result of it. At last they might see that there was no lasting security, justice, peace, except as they put their trust in God. The peacemakers would go home with this message for all the world. Perhaps the world would now be prepared to listen.

Bishop Nuelsen of Zurich reminded the delegates that they were not praying alone that morning. That in thousands of churches and from millions of hearts of men and women, prayers were now ascending to the throne of God that this conflict of the nations might be avoided. Let us remember that these wars were not begun by the people—but by ruthless monarchs and the cliques about them. He had just come from two great international gatherings where members of all nations had been sitting about the Lord's table together. These

were not the men who made war. They with us were lamenting these dark days. Even though this war came, and lasted long, after it was over the real Christians of all lands would again get together and plan for a time when Christian brotherhood should supplant war.

Then came the time of prayer. If ever the meeting in the Upper Room has been repeated in history, it was in that hour. Outside Germans, French and English were going out to fight one another; here Germans, French and English were kneeling in prayer. Outside the people were calling for blood; here representatives of twelve peoples were praying for increased love for one another. Outside the Germans, French and English were hurling epithets of hatred and revenge at each other; here they were pledging themselves in new ties of brotherhood in Christ's Kingdom of goodwill. Representatives of five nations were called upon for prayer. First I was asked to pray as representing America. I have prayed for public gatherings perhaps five thousand times in my life, but never before this morning did I realize what it was to voice the cry of the people before me, and of the world. I had no conception of what I should say when I arose—I have no idea now of what I said. I only know that my heart was bleeding for the sins of the world and I saw a vision of millions of little children who were soon to roam the devastated cities hungry, cold, fatherless, all because of the sin of a few men. I saw the mad orgy of lust, vice, drunkenness, hatred, cruelty that was to be loosed, and I felt for once something of what Christ felt in Gethsemane. I could only beseech God over and over again to spare us this thing, and to teach

men that Christ's test of discipleship was that they should love one another.

After I had finished praying, Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, as representing Germany, prayed, and Dr. John Clifford from England. Then Dr. Marius Dumesnil from France, and Dr. K. Böhringen from Switzerland. It is too bad these great prayers could not have been printed and distributed by the millions among the nations. It is too bad the governments who were waging war against each other could not have heard Germans praying for God's blessings on France and England; English and French praying for God's blessing upon Germany. Still kneeling we remained a time in silence. Then those who had sufficient control of themselves to utter words continued to lift our hearts unto the Lord. As I sat there it came over me when the peace of the world should come. It would be when the peoples of the various nations felt toward one another as we in that room felt toward one another. I looked up once and there before me I saw a German, a Frenchman, and an Englishman kneeling so close together that their arms touched. Nothing in heaven or earth could have made those kneeling disciples of the Lord fight one another. Were the heads of the nations—of even three nations of Europe—Christians as those three men were Christians—no power in heaven or earth could plunge their nations into war. I believe there are many people in every nation who have reached this stage of real Christianity. I believe this feeling is spreading among the people. I find it among working men in Europe. It found expression in the streets of Paris. It would have found considerable expression among the working men of Germany had not the Kaiser

prohibited all assemblies of the people. I have increasingly found it among the pastors of the churches, especially in America and England. It is growing everywhere. The pity of it is that it has not reached the dignitaries of either state or church in two or three nations. Had every Protestant pastor in Germany reached the point of real Christianity that those Germans kneeling beside the English at Constance had reached, and had the Roman Catholic priests in Austria reached the point that those priests of the various nations have reached who were to have knelt side by side in prayer the week after our Constance meeting—in that very city of Liege which now lies in dust and ashes—in a conference similar to ours, this war would not have been. This is all there is to the peace movement—to bring the leaders of the church, the nation, the Trades-Unions, the Social Democracy, to the point of Christian brotherhood those kneeling disciples had reached in that quiet Chamber of the Lord at Constance. It is all so simple, so easy, so near, but so seemingly impossible, so hard, so far off, because of our stubbornness, our blindness, most of all, our sin. The meeting closed with a word from Dr. George U. Wenner, the eminent Lutheran pastor of New York, who had been to the morning service of that church in the city. The people in the great congregation were in tears, he told us. Yes, all over Germany and France and England the people—the Christian people—were in tears, but they had no word to say or knew not how to say it, while the governments were plunging them into calamity and ruin, over nothing but the desire of a few men in Austria to get revenge in their own perverse way. How long must this last? How long must the people of Germany and

Austria remain dumb under the rods of the heartless and the oppressors? Again, is not here a great hope for peace, that before long the people of Germany and Austria and Russia will insist on democracy, on having a voice as well as feelings? It is worthy of careful notice that the two democracies of Europe, England and France, did all within their power to fend off the war, using every resource until the last moment. Let us have democracies for another reason. It is easy to educate democracies. Pastors and teachers are freer to speak their views and the people can discuss great problems free from censorship. Again perhaps democracy and peace must come together.

It seemed like sacrilege to transact any business at the close of that sacramental meeting. But it was the Lord's business and had to be done. First of all the following petition was unanimously adopted and ordered telegraphed to every ruler of Europe, and to the President of the United States:

"The Conference of members of Christian churches representing twelve countries and thirty confessions assembled at Constance to promote friendly relations between nations, solemnly appeals to Christian rulers to avert a war between millions of men amongst whom friendship and common interests have been steadily growing, and thereby to save from disaster Christian civilization and assert the power of the Christian spirit in human affairs."

Then the question of continuing the Conference had to be settled. There was considerable nervousness among the delegates. Some had imperative duties at home and some had little children who needed them, so that the

probability of being shut up in Constance for several weeks or months, even though they might be safe, somewhat alarmed them. But when I put to our American delegates the point that here was a great opportunity of history to show the world that instead of silencing us, the nations going to war would only make us bolder, and that if they were going to fight we were going to talk peace all the more earnestly; that this would be a spectacle which neither our own nation nor Europe would ever forget, almost with one voice they voted to go on with the conference. The English and other delegates took the same brave attitude, and the first session of the Conference to take up the regular business was set for that afternoon at 4 o'clock. The significant events of this second remarkable gathering will be rehearsed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV.

## PREPARATION FOR WAR AND PREPARATION FOR PEACE GO ON TOGETHER

When the time for luncheon arrived on Sunday we found that so many of the waiters and cooks of the Insel Hotel had enlisted the night before that it was impossible to serve meals in the garden and we must all have our luncheon together, at one hour, taking the same courses, so at 12:30 we sat down in the great refectory where five hundred years before the monks had sat together eating while some brother read passages from the Bible or some other holy book. It was also in this room that John Huss had been tried. As a matter of fact the Reformation may be said to have begun in this room. I think that we all felt that perhaps the seeds of another Reformation were being sown that day as we sat down fresh from the Upper Chamber and planned together how the church might purge herself of trifles and what she must do to prevent such utter collapse of Christianity as we were witnessing in Europe. These feelings were voiced in the sessions of the afternoon; for after an hour's intermission the Conference reassembled. Even at that hour it was believed that we could go on with our regular Monday and Tuesday sessions. Those of our party close to the Kaiser and to the British government even yet could not believe but what, at the last moment, the unbelievable crisis would be avoided. So, instead of taking up the regular program, the meeting became one of general discussion of what the churches

had already accomplished in enlisting their leaders and people in the new order of substituting law for war, justice by courts for force, goodwill for hatred, the rivalry of brain and commerce for that of arms and militarism, humanity for a narrow nationalism, patriotism for the Kingdom of God for the older patriotism bounded by race and nationality. But of even more importance than this was the discussion of the great task before the church: Where must the new Reformation begin? What must the new Reformation give birth to? What could the awakened church do to extend the rule of Christ over the nations? How could the church be brought to speak the word that should end wars forever?

I doubt if any group ever assembled with a weightier responsibility resting on them than that company felt that afternoon. The time was so short that it was felt best that those who had speeches which had already been printed should simply sum them up and then give them out to be read by the delegates. Mr. Baker then offered his to the assembly. It bore the title: "The Churches and International Friendship." It called attention to the fact that we were meeting on the same spot where five hundred years ago, in 1414, the Council of Constance met. That council was presided over by the Norman Emperor Sigismund and attended by twenty-six princes, one hundred and forty counts, twenty Cardinals, twenty Archbishops, six hundred Prelates, and four thousand Priests. Its deliberations lasted three and one-half years. This was the second Council of Constance and he hoped that those gathered here might lay the foundation of a work among the churches of Christendom that, under

divine blessing, might promote the peace of the world and Christian brotherhood among the nations. "The Conference of 1414 was concerned with reconciling the warring factions of a single church, with deciding who should be its earthly head, and with establishing unity and harmony where division and dissension had prevailed. We are concerned in finding among the many sections of the church in all Christian countries a basis of agreement which, under the guidance and leadership of our Eternal Head, the Prince of Peace, will enable us to co-operate in bringing nearer the unity and harmony of His Kingdom of Righteousness and Peace." Mr. Baker then dwelt upon the fact that the churches must do the foundation work in the peace movement. They must create that disposition and temper which is the soil in which peace may grow; they must educate the people "to look to the moral law rather than to physical force, to right rather than might, for the solution of differences and disputes which from time to time arise." Furthermore Mr. Baker believed that both the rulers and the people look to the church for this leadership. He then surveyed the growth of the movement among the churches of Europe which led to the creation of the British and German Councils. Mr. Baker then called attention to the intolerable condition of Europe groaning under armaments, even though no war should come—but they were always a menace and a provocation to war. (It was only one day after this address was made that Mr. Baker's words were verified. It was because all the nations were armed to the teeth that the whole cataclysm came on in a week's time and no diplomacy could check it. Men trained to fight, with pistols in each hand,

will use them under very slight provocation.) He then showed the various agencies at work—Peace Societies, the Norman Angell group and others—but came back to the final fact, that it will be on moral and spiritual grounds that war will ultimately be stopped. "We believe with Lord Haldane that, 'It is not brute force, but moral power that commands predominance in the world,' and we are here to see if it be not possible to unite these moral forces, as we know them to exist in our Christian lands, and to create such an attitude in our respective countries and among the nations of the world as will, in due time, render wars between them an impossible contingency."

Dr. Macfarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, then offered his paper, printed both in English and German, to the people. It made a great impression upon the European delegates as they read it, for I think that none of them had realized how far the churches in America had gone. Dr. Macfarland showed how at the preparatory meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, 1905, the Hon. David J. Brewer had set forth International Peace as one of the objectives of the proposed Federation of the Churches, and, at the ultimate organization of the Federal Council in Philadelphia, 1908, a committee on International Relations, of which the Hon. Henry Wade Rogers was Chairman, had presented a statesman-like report, the larger part of which Dr. Macfarland quoted in his address. It proposed a world-wide movement of the churches, endorsed the Hague Conference and submitted a definite program for the new Federal Council of Churches.

In the summer of 1911 Dr. Macfarland had conferred with leaders of the Church Peace Movement at London and Berlin, and in the following autumn the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration was appointed, with Rev. J. B. Remensnyder as Chairman and Rev. Frederick Lynch as Secretary.

The Report of this Commission for 1912 was presented to the Conference by Dr. Macfarland. It set forth plans for a peace campaign which since that time has been persistently carried on. At the quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council in Chicago in 1912, James A. MacDonald of Toronto had set the work of International Peace before the Federal Council as its great objective.

When the United States was perilously near war with Mexico, the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration called upon the churches of America to speak, and their protest against war with Mexico had a decided effect at Washington and greatly upheld the hands of those who counseled arbitration and mediation. In the same way the Federal Council had brought to bear the support by the Protestant Churches of America of President Taft in his splendid effort to secure absolute arbitration treaties between the United States and the European nations. The most recent action of the Council in international affairs had been the appointment of a Commission on Relations with Japan, composed of fifteen of the most eminent leaders of the churches. The services of Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., of Japan—missionary and statesman—had been secured to guide the work of this Commission, which is to make a thorough study of the whole American-Japanese problem and bring to bear upon it the light of the Chris-

tian Gospel. The President of the Federal Council, Prof. Shailer Mathews, has been selected to go to Japan, as an ambassador of the churches to the people of Japan, accompanied by Dr. Gulick and other representatives of the churches.

Another Committee of One Hundred is making plans for the celebration of the Treaty of Ghent, of which Associate-Secretary Henry K. Carroll of the Federal Council is Chairman and Rev. Frederick Lynch, Secretary, said Dr. Macfarland. This committee represents thirty denominations and is working in connection with The Church Peace Union. Besides this the Council was educating the pastors in international questions through its Commissioners on Social Service, Missions and Religious Education. It was securing splendid resolutions on International Peace at all the national meetings of the denominations, and was having the subject presented to theological seminaries. It was working in heartiest cooperation with The Church Peace Union and had paved the way for its work among the churches. The Council would now devote more attention than ever to this great cause and would work to make the churches of America take that same stand on peace and goodwill that Christ himself took.

I had also prepared an address for the Conference but I could not give it in view of what was happening all about me. All I could think of was the collapse of civilization, the din of whose falling walls was then and there in our ears, the failure of our Christianity to prevent such a reign of darkness coming upon the earth in the twentieth century of the Prince of Peace, the great primary and elemental work which the church

must do after the havoc and destruction were over; even half felt that perhaps a new and different church must be born, just as out of the first Reformation a new church was born. This was so constantly on my mind that every time I spoke, as American Secretary of the Conference, I gave voice to these thoughts. I said that the church had concerned itself too much with trifles and had neglected the weightier matters of the law. It had been attacking petty sins, but had not been attacking hatred, revenge, excessive race consciousness, narrow patriotism, and that nationalism which contradicts the Kingdom of God. It had been splendidly demanding that individuals love each other (in their own nation), but had not preached that it is just as obligatory that nations love each other. It had preached that it was a crime for one man to kill another, but not that it was equally criminal in God's eyes for one nation to destroy another. It had led its people in the weekly commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," but had not led the nations in repeating this universal law of God. It had said to its members, "No Christian will fight his brother with fists," but it had not said, "No Christian nation will fight another nation with iron and powder." It had taught its children that that man was great who loved and served and gave all he had to his fellow-men, but it had not taught them that that alone made a nation great. Indeed, had it not even taught that that nation was greatest which destroyed and subdued weak people, and added empires to its rule? All this will be changed in the church of the second Reformation, the church to be born out of this purging of the nations. Clear and strong its voice will ring out: "There can be but one religion, one law, one standard

of conduct in the whole Kingdom of God. Nations must come under the same Gospel as that by which the people live; nations must adjust all their relationships by the same laws that bind good men to each other; nations must come up to that same high plane to which the Gospel calls all souls. The Kingdom of this world must become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, while at the same time the people become His also."

Hardly had this afternoon meeting closed when Dr. Siegmund-Schultze received intimations from the local authorities that mobilization was going on fast and the train service becoming more and more irregular. In view of this it was decided to take up at the evening session the most important part of the program, the passing of the four resolutions that had been prepared with a view to determining the future co-operative work of the churches of Europe and America and to making the Conference permanent.

In the hour that intervened before dinner several of us strolled through the ancient city. We had been assured of protection and had been warned only in regard to cameras. That very morning we had received a telegram from Doctors Walter Laidlaw and Rivington D. Lord that they had been arrested and detained at Oos, a hundred miles north of Constance, because they had a picture of an airship on their films. We learned next day that they had been liberated, although their camera had been confiscated and deposited in the war museum. Constance was one of the recruiting stations and it was interesting to note the methods the government was taking to stir up the war fever. A big band was stationed in the public square playing "Germany

Forever," "The Watch on the Rhine," and other national airs. Officers were strutting about in gorgeous uniforms. Posters were displayed to the effect that Germany was being menaced on every side by her foes. It worked with the young men and boys, but the older men were very grave and sober. No one seemed to have any conception of why the country was being plunged into war. As we walked home we saw the soldiers stopping wagons in the streets and taking out the horses for military uses. Some of the young men were singing, but as evening came a very solemn hush settled over the city, broken only by the sound of one company of poor fellows after another being marched off to kill they knew not whom, nor for what reason. All along the streets women were crying as their sons and husbands were driven off to be shot.

We little realized as we re-entered the sheltered Hotel Insel the exciting hour that lay before us. Dr. Siegmund-Schultze had been sent for by the president of the city and informed that all the railroads of Germany were to be handed over to the military authorities the following night (Monday) at twelve for mobilization purposes, and that the only train on which he could offer a certain and safe convoy through Germany would leave the following morning at nine o'clock; that he could get us two special cars on that train which would go to Cologne at least, and perhaps to Holland, under supervision of the government; and that he advised us to take them as there was no telling when there would be another train across Germany. This announcement was made to the delegates as soon as they were assembled and was received with mixed feelings. Some had so set their

hearts on carrying out the program of the Conference that they demanded that we stay and take the risks of being kept there for any length of time. Others who had families needing them at home and work which could not be left long insisted on going. But discussion was soon stopped by the sudden announcement sent to me from the hotel office that the bank had closed, that the hotel not only could not advance any of us money but must also close its own doors. There we were, eighty people, hundreds of miles from England, with no tickets across Germany and no place to cash our checks. I had letters of credit in my pocket of ample size to get the whole eighty to London, but they were of no use with closed banks and a bankrupt hotel. What could we do?

Then occurred one of the most interesting events of the Conference. I arose and said: "There are some here who have enough money in gold (the only kind worth anything outside of German paper) to buy their tickets and have some left over. There are others who have not nearly enough. There is only one way to get our whole party safely to London and that is for everybody to put all the gold he has into a common pot. Furthermore this is wise, for the only way in which any *one* can get safely through Germany is for *all* to go together. The response was instantaneous. A hat was placed on the table and one by one the delegates came up and put in their gold, the amount being entered against each one's name. (This money was afterward refunded in London.) By thus owning all things in common enough was secured not only to buy tickets for eighty people to London but to distribute half a pound to each for food upon the way. There came home

to everybody, as perhaps never before, the meaning of the great word *community*.

It was then voted to proceed with the evening session. The first half hour was devoted to prayer and two or three general addresses. Rev. W. P. Merrill, D.D., of New York City was in the Chair and greatly encouraged us all by reminding us that it might be almost providential that we who had been commissioned to lead the churches in the fight against war had been permitted to share those experiences through which Europe was passing. Also we should remember that it was God's world still although many of His children had forgotten His ways. We were led in prayer by the Bishop of Lichfield and others, and then we listened to three or four addresses from the representatives of different nations. There was a universal desire to hear from Professor Sidney L. Gulick of Japan, and he consequently spoke at this time. His address on "Constructive Methods for Promoting International Peace" made such an impression that I am printing it as an appendix to this story.* The Conference then proceeded to adopt the following four resolutions:

I. "That, inasmuch as the work of conciliation and the promotion of amity is essentially a Christian task, it is expedient that the churches in all lands should use their influence with the Peoples, Parliaments and the Governments of the world to bring about good and friendly relationships between the nations, so that, along the path of peaceful civilization, they may reach that

* See Appendix II.

universal goodwill which Christianity has taught mankind to aspire after."

II. "That, inasmuch as all sections of the Church of Christ are equally concerned in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of good feeling among all the races of the world, it is advisable for them to act in concert in their efforts to carry the foregoing resolution into effect."

III. "That in order to enable the different churches to be brought into touch with one another, steps should be taken to form in every country councils of either a denominational or interdenominational character (as the circumstances of each case require) whose object it will be to enlist the churches, in their corporate capacity, in a joint endeavor to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war, and that for this purpose a central bureau should be established for facilitating correspondence between such councils, collecting and distributing information and generally co-ordinating the work connected with the movement."

IV. "That the duty of carrying into effect the resolutions arrived at by the Conference be entrusted to a committee consisting of the following members: Mr. J. Allen Baker, M. P., London; Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M. P., London; Monsieur Jacques Dumas, Paris; Monsieur le Professeur Louis Emery, Lausanne; Monsieur le Pasteur Elie Gounelle, Paris; Rev. E. R. Hendrix, D.D., LL.D., New York; Herr Hofprediger Kessler, Dresden; Herr Konsistorialrat Lüttgert, Berlin; Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., New York; Edwin D. Mead, Esq., M.A., Boston; Rev. W. P. Merrill, D.D., New York; Monsieur le Pasteur Jacques Pannier, Paris;

Monsieur le Sénateur E. Réveillaud, Versailles; Herr Professor Dr. Richter, Berlin; Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M.A., London; Herr Pastor Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, Berlin; Very Rev. the Dean of Worcester; with power to add to their numbers, and that the committee do arrange for a further conference to be held at a later date, at which they shall report the result of the work done, and bring forward recommendations for further action." This committee met in London Thursday, August 6th, and organized with J. Allen Baker, M. P., Chairman; Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., Vice-Chairman; Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., and the Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M. P., Secretaries.

The Conference then adjourned to meet at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, Wednesday, August 5th, at 4 p. m.

## CHAPTER V.

## FROM CONSTANCE TO LONDON—AN EVENTFUL JOURNEY

Monday morning, at 9 o'clock, eighty delegates, including Americans, English, Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Dutch and Bulgarians, were at the station at Constance to take the train for Cologne. The French and Swiss delegates had been allowed to cross the frontier into Switzerland. The Scandinavians had voted to go on to London to the adjourned meeting of the Conference. There were two special cars provided for us by the courtesy of the German government, and they were billed to go clear through to Flushing. At the station the confusion was such that it was with difficulty that the cars could be reached. Hundreds of families besides ourselves were trying to get home to England. The station was piled mountain high with baggage and the officials could promise nothing except to stick the label Cologne on it, which was as far the train itself was to go. There was no time to weigh it, so we paid a lump sum of six hundred marks to the stationmaster and he promised to send it on the second section of the train. The proprietor of the Insel Hotel had been most obliging to us. He trusted us to pay the big hotel bill sometime in the future, when cheques could again be collected in Germany. He put up eighty lunches in four great hampers, with eighty bottles of apollinaris water. We saw those hampers put into the luggage van, but when we were to get them in Offenburg, they had disappeared. The train to which this car had been hitched was full

of soldiers being transported to Cologne, so that it did not require much mental exercise to imagine where those eighty lunches had gone. Our party just about filled the two special cars comfortably, but the crowds of travelers and soldiers striving to secure seats was so great that in five minutes they had boarded our cars and filled the aisles as full as the compartments, and at every station more poured in.

The experience of English and Americans crossing Germany on this eventful day were varied and, in many instances quite opposite, and led to much discussion in the English papers. One man would report his treatment as most brutal, while another received only kindest treatment. Mr. William Cleveland-Stevens of London, who crossed Germany from Bayreuth, where he had been attending the Wagner Festival, states that about 9 o'clock on Sunday morning his party, consisting of three ladies, the chauffeur, and himself, set out by motor car from Bayreuth. He continues:

"It struck me that an extraordinary change had already taken place in the attitude of the people in Bayreuth toward us, and the impression gained on us very strongly as we passed through the various villages on our way. Groups of reservists and their admirers were collected in every village, and the friendly nods and greetings we had hitherto met with were ominously lacking. Thanks to a number of false directions, which we subsequently realized had been given on purpose, our progress was slow, and when we had got about twenty-five miles, in accordance with directions given at a previous village, we came to a place in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha called Weidhausen.

"The telephone had evidently prepared the people for an arrival, for as we slowed down to examine a sign-post five or six men, most of them drunk and all with the most evil and forbidding faces, their leader a drunken uniformed official, came out from a small beerhouse in a state of great excitement. Before we could realize that anything was the matter they demanded with shouts and menaces what right we had to be there. A large crowd had already gathered round the car. We were compelled to turn and drive at a walking pace through the village. By this time at least 300 people had collected round us, and we came to a halt just in front of the Burgomaster's house. Amid excited exclamations of 'foreigners' and 'spies' large tree trunks were rolled up against the wheels of the car, and a revolver was held at the chauffeur's head to compel him to switch off the engine. Two Russian spies had been caught in the neighborhood on the previous day, and our position was not improved by the discovery that our front tires were of Russian make.

"Two or three scoundrels clambered into the car and roughly held up the ladies' arms and searched them. The chauffeur and I were powerless to help them, for the least resistance would, I feel certain, have cost us all our lives. When the mob had sufficiently calmed down to look at our papers the discovery that we were English and not Russians caused their fury to break out afresh. It was only the timely arrival of the district Chief of Police that saved us. After spending some minutes in quieting the crowd he removed his helmet and sword and proceeded (rather I think to pacify the mob than to satisy himself) to subject the car and every article in it to the most searching examination."

On the other hand Lady Barlow, who was in our party from Constance, sent the following letter to the London papers the day after the above letter appeared:

*To the Editor, Daily Chronicle:*

Sir—I have just returned from a visit to Germany, where I received as usual the kindness and consideration which I have always found there.

The Emperor was holding back a declaration of war in order that every other means might be tried of conciliation. The German Conservative papers were restless under the delay, but his Majesty was firm.

The feeling was one of dread of the great foe from the East—Russia—and the cry was: "We beg of England to remain neutral to both ourselves and France in face of this threatened invasion of the Slavs." I had the opportunity of speaking more than once with a member of the Imperial Family, and found no trace whatever of the supposed arrogant claims of Germany. At the Protestant Stadt Church of Konstanz on Sunday, men and women sat with tears running down their cheeks at the thought of what the future had in store. I do not know what they will feel when they find England added to their list of enemies.

The kindness of the people is best indicated by the conduct of the proprietor of my hotel, who, when I went to tell him I was penniless, as most of us were, begged me not to be troubled, and added: "I know that you will pay me some day."

The popular impression I find here regarding Germany is quite incomprehensible to those of us who know her.

Believe me, yours truly,

ANNA BARLOW,
Torkington Lodge, Hazel Grove, Cheshire.

August 5, 1914.

In this narrative I propose to confine myself strictly to what the members of our own party saw. The conclusion we came to at the end of the day was that the German people as a whole were kindly disposed toward even the English, but that the soldiers were brutal in

their treatment of everybody with whom they came in contact. Indeed, the soldier is necessarily brutal from his training. He is taught from childhood that Russia, England and France are his deadly enemies and are only waiting the opportunity to subdue his fatherland. He is taught that war is the highest expression of which human nature is capable. Treitschke, whose teachings are the Bible of the German soldier, says that of all sins the sin of feebleness is the most contemptible. "It is the political sin against the Holy Ghost." Again he says that "the devotion of the members of a community is nowhere so splendidly conspicuous as in war." For years General Von Bernhardi has been informing the German youth that increase of armaments is not an inevitable evil, but the necessary condition of national health, and that efforts directed toward the abolition of war are not only foolish but positively immoral and unworthy of the human race. Such efforts, he said, threatened to poison the soul of the German people. What Germany wanted "must be fought for and won against superior forces of hostile interests and powers." As to England, a pacific agreement with her was a will-o'-the-wisp. At this particular time news had been sent to all the German soldiers that Russia, France and England had all played false against Germany and surprised her when she was desiring peace. This had made them bitter and furthermore most of them were drunk, which is the common condition of the European soldier when he is not actually on the field of battle.

At every station there were trains being filled with soldiers, with reserves, and with young men from the fields and shops. Great crowds of women with their

babies and children were at the stations to see the soldiers off. They tried to cheer, but they mostly wept, while the innocent children ignorantly cheered their fathers off to death. At one station we saw one young man suddenly go crazy as he was torn from his wife and little baby, so that he had to be pitched into a freight car by half a dozen men and held firm by strong arms. We are told that this was a frequent occurrence and that these men would simply be taken out of the regiment and put to menial tasks. As the train rolled along we saw columns of soldiers winding over the hills, the line looking like a great snake in the distance. The railroad was everywhere patrolled by soldiers and the tunnels carefully guarded to prevent spies or some enemy blowing up the track or wrecking a train. For half an hour before approaching a station and for half an hour after leaving we were ordered to close every window. We never knew whether that was for our own protection or a matter of precaution taken by the military authorities. But some of the soldiers at the stations eyed all foreigners with ugly glances, evidently suspecting spies on every train. Indeed, the further we got into Germany the more evident it was she had lost her head, had got into a panic, and was fast becoming irresponsible. This was borne out by the news when we reached London, where we found that she had recklessly drawn every great nation of Europe into war against her, and shut off her food supply on every side. The immediate violation of the neutrality of Belgium was a sure sign that she had lost her head, for she knew that England, which up to this time had remained neutral, must then take up arms against her. The signs of this frenzy were everywhere.

There happened to be a Russian on the train with us who was endeavoring to get his wife and little baby safely through Germany into Holland or England. At Mayence he was discovered by some German soldiers who immediately suspected a "spy," and they pulled him out of the train and at the point of several bayonets he was carefully searched for papers. Not satisfied with this they then roughly jerked his wife out of the train and searched her. She was so frightened that, although they were reluctantly permitted to go on, her milk ceased flowing, and the poor little baby got nothing to eat for twenty-four hours. The next day, on the boat from Flushing to England, Lady Barlow found an English mother with a nursing baby who shared her bounteous breasts with the little Russian baby. It was pathetic to hear the scream of delight with which the little thing leaped to his dinner. These are they who suffer most in war and only few wars are worth the suffering of a dozen of them. But men seem to care not at all how much they make these millions of babies and children suffer, how much they orphan their own children, if they can only gratify their lust for killing somebody of another land.

As we went down the wonderful Rhine at evening time it seemed hard to believe that those beautiful hillsides would soon again be devastated and bathed in blood; that the pretty villages would soon be burned and laid in ruins. At every station trains were being filled with soldiers and horses, often the men and horses jammed into the same car. Many of those being packed into the cars seemed nothing but boys. At one station I saw three young men, flushed with drink, leap from the car

standing on a side track and try to pull three young girls into the car onto the straw. An officer heard their screams and drove the soldiers into the car, amid much laughter from the others. The violation of women by soldiers will amount up into the thousands during this year, as it is sort of taken for granted that this is a special privilege condoned in those who "defend their country's honor."

It was impossible to get any lunch on the train and it was difficult to get anything to eat at the stations, so great was the rush for food. I managed to subsist on an occasional sausage, some grapes, pieces of chocolate and bottled waters. Many had to stand from nine in the morning until we reached Cologne at nine in the evening.

At Cologne there was less confusion, as the military authorities had cleared the station and were already seizing all the trains for soldiers. We would probably have been dumped there had it not been for the passport Dr. Siegmund-Schultze had secured, and the special protection we had received. After much debating Dr. Siegmund-Schultze and the conductor, who had accompanied us from Constance, persuaded the authorities to let our cars go through to the Dutch border town of Goch, while they telegraphed to the Dutch railroad to meet the train, as it contained two carloads of the most distinguished men of England and America. Here we began to see further signs of war, for on every side we could discern searchlights sweeping the heavens for airships, and that very night two ships had been shot at by the German guns, especially constructed for this purpose. Here Dr. Siegmund-Schultze said farewell to us. I think

he would have gone on with us to Flushing could he have followed his inclinations, but no German could get out of Germany that night. His parting with the Englishmen, Mr. Baker, Mr. Dickinson and the others, with whom he had been working intimately for five years to bring about good feeling between Germany and Great Britain, was pathetic. They had become the warmest friends and deep affection existed between them. They had lived in each others' homes. Together they had striven for the good of humanity, and nothing makes such close and abiding friendships as these friendships that reach far above those based upon nationality. And now they had to part, not knowing if ever they should meet again; not knowing what the future might bring forth. But they were hopeful in their parting and did not lose faith. Their work had not been in vain. While their governments are fighting each other, there is a group of churchmen in each country who have risen above this sort of thing, and when the war is over they will still be fast friends and ready to take the work up again where it has been rudely broken off. As for me, knowing the fine sensitiveness of this noble young German, and knowing the great wound this sudden outburst of strife and passion had inflicted in his heart, I could say nothing as we parted, only tears would come. Finally I said: "We shall meet again next summer unless the world comes to an end before that time." He left us with his beautiful and gentle little wife, to hurry to his babies in Berlin. No greater commentary on the irony, farcicalness, absurdity, yes, childishness of war could well be found than in the parting of Mr. Baker and Dr. Siegmund-Schultze. Here they were, ardent followers of

the same Master, consecrated servants of the same cause and humanity's devoted friends, esteeming each other much more highly than each esteemed many of his own selfish, ignoble countrymen, and now, because one happened to be English and one German, they must each hasten home and prepare to kill one another! But how about refusing to bear arms against one's brother of another land in an unjust cause? Well, on the day following this a friend of mine was in a little town in Europe where four men refused to bear arms against their brothers in another land. In my friend's sight they were stood up against the side of a house and four bullets put through them without any words.

The run from Cologne to Flushing was begun with considerable anxiety. Rumors reached us that Germany had decided to break the treaty insuring the neutrality of Belgium. We could not at first believe it, for this is the greatest crime of which nations are capable. If the neutrality of Switzerland, Holland and Belgium is to be violated at the opening of any war, or at the convenience of any nation that so chooses, there is no faith left between nations. Furthermore, only a nation that had gone crazy would do such a thing, for it meant that every nation party to the treaty must defend its integrity. If the rumors were true it meant that England, up to that evening neutral, must wage war against Germany for breaking her holy vows. Unfortunately it was only too true, and our train that night passed through the very territory where only two nights later the first great battle of the war was raging. For it was at Liege this first great battle was fought.

We had hoped that our cars would be carried through to Flushing. But it drew on toward midnight when we reached Goch, the little frontier town of Holland, a few miles south of Antwerp, and every car in Germany was to pass into the hands of the army at midnight. We at least hoped we might not have to do what others we afterwards met in London were forced to do—get out eight miles from Goch and then reach the frontier as best we could. But here our imperial patronage and the telegram which had been sent ahead helped us. We were carried into Goch and there transferred to a Dutch train awaiting us. After an hour we started through the sleeping country of Holland. It was about 1 a. m. and most of us had had no sleep. We were about to disperse ourselves for a few hours' nap, when one of our party who had been through the cars came to me and said: "Bishop Hendrix and Dr. Spencer are missing." A search was instituted and surely enough, they were not there. The next day we learned that they had fallen so fast asleep on the way from Cologne that they had not heard the orders to change cars. The cars they were in had gone off to the south while they were innocently sleeping. The next day they somehow got back to Flushing and got the evening boat to London, arriving twelve hours after the rest of the party. A little way out of Goch we came to the Dutch customs office. They paid no attention to our baggage, but they scanned every passenger carefully to discover his nationality and to see that no Dutch youths were leaving Holland. For even then Holland was getting frightened, fearing that Germany, if she paid no attention to the neutrality of Belgium, might gobble up Holland next. Con-

sequently, Holland was mobilizing to protect herself from Germany, as was Switzerland far off to the south. At last our party, tired, hungry, sleepy, reached Flushing. It was about 7 a. m., and as the boat did not sail until eleven o'clock we had time to get the first real meal in twenty-four hours. How refreshing a big cup of hot Java coffee was! And our party ate all the rolls and eggs there were in Flushing. It was now that the smokers began to bewail their lack of money. For the Java cigars are so cheap in Holland that one of our party said: "It is a waste of money not to smoke." Cigars equal to fine Habanas sell in Holland for three or four cents each. It was a question of conscience with me whether to let these eminent divines have money enough to buy a box or two each to carry to England, where, so they told me, the cigars were vile and expensive. But finally I decided I could not act as conscience for these men, but would charge them interest on the loan. I am afraid I shall never get the interest.

The boat from Flushing to Queenborough, at the mouth of the Thames, was so crowded with people and baggage that there was hardly room to step. Yet everybody was kindly, for everybody recognized that we were "all in the same boat" in more senses than one. Some of us made ourselves helpful by assisting mothers who had three or four children as well as three or four pieces of baggage. I made the acquaintance of babies of all nationalities if not of all tongues. (For French, English and Russian babies cry in the same language, and a baby's yell is the original Esperanto.) Fortunately we had a smooth sea and did not have the added wrestle with sea sickness. That would have been the last straw. But

the tensest moment of all the journey was before us. When we reached the mouth of the Thames we were stopped by a British cruiser and informed that mines had been laid in the channel in anticipation of a German attack and that a naval pilot would have to steer us through. We all had implicit confidence in that pilot, nevertheless we all held our breath and a great sigh of relief came when we were safely through. One of our eminent divines—I will not say whether it was one of the Bishops or not—remarked that he hoped to go to heaven when he died, but he did not want to be blown into it. I suppose it affected his sense of a dignified approach. If we could not have laughed once in a while our hearts would have broken over what we saw awaiting poor Europe. At Queenborough the English government made one great mistake, pardonable perhaps in view of the great strain upon it and the imminence of greater things. Here were hundreds of poor, tired refugees, most of them England's own people, fleeing to her arms, mothers and sick, crying babies. It was then night and everybody was anxious to get to London. And yet that exhausted, fleeing crowd was made to carry all its hand luggage to the customs office and have it submitted to examination. Many did not get away for an hour or more because of this, for they had to wait for new trains to be made up. One indignant Englishman exclaimed to the chief customs officer: "Is this the welcome England gives to those who are rushing home to fight for her?" It made no impression. It was much more important that one box of cigars should not get into England free of sixpence duty that night than that a thousand people should be spared the discomfort of

that hard hour. One who passes through custom houses often soon realizes that nations are childish in more ways than one. By midnight all our eighty delegates were asleep somewhere in London. Although the hotels were crowded they somehow managed to accommodate all Americans. In closing the record of this eventful journey let me bear witness to the kindness of the London hotel proprietors to Americans. They lodged and fed many who had no money, and in many cases even lent money to those who could not get their checks and letters of credit cashed immediately.

In the next chapter I shall tell the story of the adjourned meeting of the Conference in London, during one of the greatest moments in England's history.

## CHAPTER VI.

## ENGLAND'S SOLEMN HOUR

We awoke from a long and refreshing slumber Wednesday morning to find all England plunged in deepest gloom. Up to this Wednesday, August 5th, it had been hoped that England would have remained neutral. I am inclined to think that the widespread sentiment for neutrality would have prevailed had not news come that Germany had attacked Belgium. Not only the regular peace workers but many in parliament and elsewhere were urging neutrality.

In all churches on the previous Sunday there had been prayers for the maintenance of peace and sermon references to the menace of a world war. At Westminster Abbey in the afternoon, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that what was happening was fearful beyond all words. What did it all mean? Did it mean that the hopes once cherished of the battle flag being furled were a crazy delusion, and that war was so inveterate and essential a habit of the peoples of the earth that to look for peace was a fanatical and baseless dream? To think so would, as it seemed to him, be to belie the Christian faith, Christian promises, Christian hope. The thing which was now astir in Europe was not the work of God but of the Devil. It was not the development of God's purposes, it was the marring of them by the self-will, the sheer wrongness of man. They had got to set themselves, slowly it might be, but determinedly, as the generations passed, to eradicating and

making unendurable the temper among men from which such things spring, to "shrivel the falsehood from the souls of men" in the name of the Prince of Peace. The Archbishop of York, in the Minster, said good might come out of the evil if it drew them together and bade them, when it was past, look back with shame upon those voices that had sought to divide class against class and people against people. The officials of the Brotherhood and Adult Schools Movements united in a request to all Brotherhoods and Adult Schools to pass resolutions and use all other means of influence on Members of Parliament and the Government to localize the area of the war and to maintain, if at all possible, British neutrality. The Bishop of Hereford, in a notice to his clergy, asked them "to do everything possible in the name of our church to strengthen the Government in maintaining a policy of strict neutrality and laboring for peace."

Our own British delegates, immediately upon reaching London, published the following urgent appeal to the nation in the cause of peace and neutrality:

"We have just returned from Germany, where we have been attending the first international conference of the churches for the promotion of friendship among the nations. We have seen with our own eyes the amazing rapidity of the growth of the war fever and the widespread misery caused by the mere preparation for warfare.

"There is, however, clear evidence that the serious part of the German nation has entered only with the utmost reluctance on the present war, and deplores the possibility of a fresh outbreak of bitterness and misunderstanding with Great Britain.

"We are dismayed beyond measure at the thought that England may be involved in the cataclysm of the present conflict. In the original quarrel we, as a nation, have no lot or part. We have ties of warm friendship with the peoples both of Germany and France, and no hostility to any people in Europe. If we can, even now, maintain this position, we still have a wonderful opportunity of acting as peacemakers and the friends of all. If this opportunity is not to be lost, the conscience of our land must speak more speedily than the spirit of the hate and international ill-feeling, propagated by the voices which call for war.

"For the sake of the land we love and our brethren of other lands, in the name of the God of our common worship, we appeal to our fellow-countrymen not to despair, even at this hour, of discovering a just and peaceful solution, and that to this end we lift up our prayers as with one voice to Almighty God."

The appeal bears the following signatures: J. A. Kempthorne (Bishop of Lichfield), John Clifford, J. Allen Baker, W. H. Dickinson, W. Moore Ede (Dean of Worcester), W. Leighton Grane (Prebend of Chichester Cathedral), Anna Barlow, Joan Mary Fry, Meriel L. Talbot, David Brook, J. Morgan Gibbon, R. C. Gillie, J. A. McKeigan, J. G. Tasker, Henry T. Hodgkin, and V. D. Davis.

Many even went so far as to urge England to observe neutrality after it was plain that Germany intended to invade Belgium.

Protests against British intervention were backed by *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Daily News.* A British Neutrality Committee was formed. In a mani-

festo signed by Lord Courtney of Penwith, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, Mr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. J. A. Hobson and others, it was urged that England was not bound by her engagements and her vital interests to give armed support to France and Russia, and that it would be disastrous both to domestic and Imperial interests to engage at this crisis in a great Continental war. Mr. Joseph King voiced opinions largely held by those in favor of strict neutrality in a letter to the press on the neutrality of Belgium. He admitted that Britain equally with France and Germany had recognized the neutrality of Belgium, but held that though England was interested in the neutrality of Belgium, she was in no way pledged to defend that neutrality with the forces of the Crown. Rev. J. E. Roberts, M. A., B. D., Dr. A. S. Peake, and other Free Church leaders supported the neutrality demand. On Saturday a "Protest of Scholars" was issued in which they said: "We regard Germany as a nation leading the way in the arts and sciences, and we have all learned and are learning from German scholars. War upon her in the interest of Servia and Russia will be a sin against civilization." The Socialists held a demonstration in favor of neutrality in Trafalgar Square as late as Saturday.

As late as Wednesday *The Daily News* contained an announcement of "The Neutrality League," printed in big black-faced type and covering a whole page of the paper.* But after the news came that the Germans had actually entered Belgium all talk of neutrality, except

* See Appendix IV.

on the part of a few, was blown to the winds. Mr. Carnegie, in a telegram sent in reply to a request to urge neutrality after Germany had acted, voiced the feeling of the nation. He said:

"Protest to-day is useless. German Emperor refused Britain's friendly invitation to peaceful conference of the Powers, signed by no less able and peaceful statesman than Sir Edward Grey, and proposed in return that Britain agree Germany be permitted to march through Belgium to attack France, thus placing Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Norway open to her fleets and armies. Her Emperor, hitherto for twenty-five years the world's foremost peace potentate, has to-day become chief destroyer —a 'War Lord' of Europe.

"We advocates of heavenly peace and foes of hellish war must not fail to expose and denounce the guilty originators thereof. The German Emperor's refusal to attend Britain's peaceful conference was followed by the present alarming upheaval of the demons of war. I believe the Emperor knew not what he did when he refused Britain's olive branch of peace, and now mourns over his error. But this is already of the past—the looms of the gods weave no erasures.

"We men of peace feel that of all crimes the killing of men by their fellow-men is the 'foulest fiend ever loosed from hell,' the deepest disgrace to so-called civilization, and we must not fail to call to account guilty Emperor, King, President, or Statesman.

"Her Peace Conference having been rejected by Germany, I feel that Britain only did her duty when she promptly refused Germany's counter-proposal to be permitted to invade Belgium to attack France, and declared she would protect Belgium by land and sea. In doing so she points out that Holland, Norway and Sweden were equally endangered by Germany's request. Britain offered Germany the olive branch of peace; this rejected, she has resolved to protect Belgium, and probably the

smaller countries named, if necessary, from invasion by Germany, which I for one cannot disapprove. On the contrary, I feel that Britain was in honor bound to protect Belgium.

"ANDREW CARNEGIE."

After this it became dangerous to urge neutrality, although some peace people held out to the last. By Wednesday all hope of neutrality was gone and our Conference assembled at the Westminster Palace Hotel, with England drawn into the war.

The answer to the ultimatum sent to Germany regarding Belgium was unsatisfactory, and at 12:15 Wednesday morning the Foreign Office had issued the statement:

*Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by his Majesty's Government for assurances that the neutrality of Belgium will be respected, his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin has received his passports and his Majesty's Government has declared to the German Government that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany as from 11 p. m. on August 4th.*

War had come and the English delegates who entered the conference room at 4 p. m. were bowed with great burdens and wore sad faces. It was impossible to transact routine business at such an hour. A motion that the Conference should prepare a statement to be issued to the world was debated for a time, but at last it was thought best to forego any public utterance. It was too late to stop the universal war. Any other message would not have been listened to at this time. The English had been drawn in against their will, and all the world knew it. At no previous time in history had a nation

made so fine and brave a stand for peace—even to the last hour—as had England. It was then five o'clock. I arose and said that first of all I wanted to voice the sympathy of the Americans for our brothers now drawn into the deep floods. It was our burden as well as theirs. We would suffer with them and we were glad so long as this calamity had to come upon them that we were there to share it with them and uphold them. To this Mr. Baker responded although it was hard for him to speak, for no man in England, unless it had been Mr. Dickinson, had worked so hard for goodwill among the nations as had he. Great gains had seemingly been won, and the future looked brighter than ever. This First Church Conference for Peace was going to give still greater impulse, when lo! in only a week all had seemingly been swept away, proved useless, of no avail. Mr. Baker, speaking with great difficulty, told us what the presence of Americans had meant to them all in these hard hours. He refused to believe the work had been in vain. He felt that this calamity was a call of God to us all to work with a passion and devotion that should conquer the world. Perhaps out of this conflagration the churches would rise purified and say to the world: "This must happen never again forever."

After Mr. Baker had uttered these heartfelt words, I suggested that in the hour that remained Dr. Clifford, Mr. Mead, and others should tell us what in their mind should be the duty of the churches in the immediate future. What should we who were there say to our hearers and our readers when we had returned home? Should we feel that our efforts were useless, or should this be a call to renewed consecration, to a greater effort

than we had ever before made? I said I would like to know what those present were going to say to the hundreds of people who would greet them with, "Where now is your peace movement?" as of old they taunted the Psalmist with, "Where now is thy God?" These questions called forth the most remarkable utterances of the Conference, from such men as Dr. John Clifford, Edwin D. Mead, Dr. J. Morgan Gibbon, Dr. Philip S. Moxom (who was acting chairman), the Bishop of Lichfield, George W. Nasmyth, and Dr. Charles S. Macfarland. Among others who spoke was Lady Barlow. I am sorry I have no record of these addresses—confessions rather, for each one spoke from the heart, from deepest feeling and conviction. But I can sum up the three or four impressions that have remained with me from the truly great utterances of these men. As one man remarked, it was worth coming to Europe to hear these words alone.

First, there was the deep conviction that Jesus Christ meant His Kingdom to be peace, and a brotherhood that surpassed any national boundaries. He did not intend that men should kill each other in His Kingdom. It was the duty of His ministers to work for that Kingdom and to preach that Kingdom regardless of immediate success, even though all men preferred evil.

Secondly, we must not look upon this war as the failure of the Peace Movement. Great gains had been made in spite of everything. Two of the great nations of the world, England and France, had done everything in their power to prevent it, speaking boldly for lasting peace, and had gone into it only at the last moment when dragged in. In every country there was a larger group than any previous year had found who had been

outspoken against their nation going to war. Also this movement among the churches had created groups in every land whose friendship no war could break. The moment this war ceased the representatives of these groups would get together and take up the work just where it had been interrupted. Meantime the American group could keep up correspondence with the groups in the warring lands, looking to the speedy restoration of peace.

Thirdly, it might be that this war would be such an object lesson to the churches of the complete failure and break-down of the present political order, of militarism as a means of preserving peace, of force as a method of settling international disputes, that they would be ready to turn to the new order with an eagerness not yet evinced and listen to our gospel with an attention never yet betrayed.

Fourthly, we who had been through such scenes had so seen at first hand how war breaks every high human tie, had had its iniquity, its abnormality, its utter contradiction to Christianity so burned into our soul that our message would have a new intensity, our soul a deeper passion, and our voice a power and pathos that might move men mightily.

The regular Conference adjourned after a moment of solemn prayer, and a meeting of the American delegates was called for 4 p. m. the following day. This meeting of the American delegates had been called especially to adopt a declaration to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which a committee of Federal Council delegates, consisting of Bishop E. R. Hendrix, Bishop Luther B. Wilson, Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D.,

Canon George William Douglas, D.D., Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D., and Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., had been asked to prepare. This declaration is printed in full in the Appendix.*

It is a document worthy of careful study. I would call special attention to one phrase, because I heard almost every one of the eighty delegates, sooner or later, express this sentiment, it being the one impression burned into every soul:

"We are witnessing the *reductio ad absurdum* of unchristian civilization; for peace is not to be secured by preparation for war (even if unchristian men compel their brothers in self-defense, and for the sake of sacred treaties, to make war)." The declaration was unanimously adopted, and the representatives of religious bodies in America not in the Federal Council asked permission to add their endorsements and so make it a declaration to all the Protestant Churches of America.

Resolutions of thanks to Mr. Carnegie were also passed at this meeting. For when the Americans reached London they found all banks closed for three days, and many of them were short of money. Others had no money at all, the extra expenses having exhausted all they had brought. Others had to buy new steamship tickets at high rates, the old ones on continental lines having become useless. The cable to America was uncertain. I at once telegraphed Mr. Carnegie at Skibo, and he telegraphed back to the London Branch of the Royal Bank of Scotland to let us have all the money we needed on his account. It came as a godsend to

* See Appendix III.

our stranded delegates. We immediately opened an office in Mr. Dickinson's rooms, where, every day, Mr. Nasmyth advanced money to the members of our party and their friends.

## CHAPTER VII

## LONDON IN WARTIME

Our last four days were spent in London, with England at war with Germany. It was an unique experience. As will be seen from the correspondence between Sir Edward Grey and the different powers, an analysis of which appears in the Appendix,* England devoted all her energies to making peace up to the night that Germany entered Belgium. Dragged out of her position at the last moment, she declared herself in a state of war with Germany on the very evening we reached London. Our train from Flushing landed us about 8 p. m. Dr. Macfarland and I had telegraphed ahead to several hotels for accommodations and finally secured a room at the Cecil. After dinner we went out on the streets. London was getting excited. As we strolled down toward the Parliament buildings the crowd grew denser and denser and more demonstrative. It was then about 10 p. m., and the Commons was awaiting Germany's answer to the British ultimatum concerning Belgium. The time limit expired at midnight and no answer had come. While we were on the streets the unsatisfactory answer came.

The whole city had been at fever heat ever since Mr. Asquith's declaration, made in the afternoon, that in view of Germany's continued refusal to make the same promise France had made, to respect Belgian neutrality, he had

* See Appendix V, "Some Sidelights on the Collapse of European Policies," by Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D., Editor.

sent an ultimatum to Germany to respect the neutrality of Belgium and that the time limit had been set at midnight. My readers will be interested in seeing the exact words which Mr. Asquith used in his memorable speech —a speech which set all England on fire and which assured all Europe that England, whose attitude had hitherto been uncertain, was now committed to the general war. It was as follows:

In conformity with the statement of policy made by my Right Hon. Friend, the Foreign Secretary, yesterday, here, a telegram was sent early this morning by him to our Ambassador in Berlin, and it was to this effect:

The King of the Belgians has made an appeal to his Majesty's government for diplomatic intervention on behalf of Belgium.

His Majesty's government are also informed that the German government has delivered to the Belgian government a note proposing friendly neutrality pending a free passage through Belgian territory, and promising to maintain the independence and integrity of the Kingdom and its possessions on the conclusion of peace, and threatening, in case of refusal, to treat Belgium as an enemy.

An answer was required within twelve hours.

We also understand that Belgium has categorically refused this flagrant violation of the law of nations. (Cheers.)

His Majesty's government are bound to protest against this violation of a treaty to which Germany is a party in common with ourselves, and must request an assurance that the demand made upon Belgium will not be proceeded with and that their neutrality will be respected by Germany. We asked for an immediate reply. (Loud cheers.)

We received this morning from our Minister at Brussels the following telegram:

"The German Minister has this morning addressed a note to the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating

that, as the Belgian government has declined the well-intentioned proposal submitted to them by the Imperial Government, the latter, deeply to their regret, will be compelled to carry out, if necessary by force of arms, the measures considered indispensable in view of the French menace."

Simultaneously we received from the Belgian Legation here the following telegram from the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"The general staff announce that territory has been violated at Verviers, near Aix-La-Chapelle."

Subsequent information tends to show that the German force has penetrated still further into Belgian territory.

We also received this morning from the German Ambassador here a telegram sent to him from the German Foreign Secretary and communicated by the Ambassador to us.

It is in these words:

"Please dispel any distrust that may subsist on the part of the British government with regard to our intentions by repeating most positively the formal assurance that, even in the case of an armed conflict with Belgium, Germany will not under any pretence whatever annex Belgian territory. (Cries of "Oh! Oh!" and laughter.)

The sincerity of this declaration is borne out by the fact that we solemnly pledged our word to Holland strictly to respect their neutrality.

It is obvious that we could not profitably annex Belgian territory without making a territorial acquisition at the expense of Holland.

Please impress upon Sir E. Grey that the German army could not be exposed to French attack across Belgium, which was planned according to absolutely unimpeachable information. Germany has in consequence disregarded Belgian neutrality to prevent what means to her a question of life and death, the French advance through Belgium."

I have to add this on behalf of H. M. government —we cannot regard this as in any sense a satisfactory communication.

We have in reply to it repeated the request made last week to the German government that they should give us the same assurance with regard to Belgian neutrality as was given to us and to Belgium by France last week, and we have asked that a reply to that request and a satisfactory answer to the telegram of this morning, which I have read to the House, should be given before midnight. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

This announcement of the Premier was received with sadness in spite of the cheers, but with practically unanimous assent by the House. Men cried and cheered at the same time. It was the answer to the request in the last paragraph that all England was awaiting. Demonstrations were beginning as it drew on towards midnight and no answer came. Then, while all England was waiting, the news venders rushed down the streets shouting, "Germany has entered Belgium." That was the answer of Germany to the ultimatum. For the first time in my life I saw a mob go wild. The papers were snatched up by the surging crowd and in a moment all were gone. It drew on towards midnight and again the mob grew quiet. There was a hush that was terrible as the big clock struck twelve. At ten minutes past midnight some one rushed out of Commons and shouted: "War has been declared with Germany," and again the mob broke loose. Great hordes fell into line and marched through the streets shouting and singing, but the more serious portion shook their heads, for they knew what it meant—all Europe at war. One man turned to me and exclaimed: "It is the end of the world." I must confess I felt at that

moment that he was not far off in his estimate. But since then I have gained more hope. It was an awful hour, however, when one learned that every great nation of Europe was involved in a universal war.

Wednesday morning dawned on a nation at war. The whole aspect of London had changed. The German steamship companies were boarding up all their office windows, the German shopkeepers were closing all their stores, and the German Ambassador was preparing to leave. The screams of news vendors filled the air. Merchants and business men wore serious faces. Little boys were marching through the streets in companies, carrying British flags and beating tin pans for drums. Before the war offices great crowds of young men were waiting to enlist. The King was reading the official proclamation from the steps of the War Office. The banks had all been ordered closed until Friday, to avoid panic and a sudden rush upon them by depositors. This last act greatly inconvenienced the Americans who had landed from the Continent with no English money or gold. The American Express Company opened their offices mornings and cashed checks up to $40.00. One of the finest things of all was the act of the Great Eastern Railroad, which opened an office at its station and cashed any kind of checks for Americans up to $50.00 in gold. (The superintendent of this railroad is an American, Mr. H. W. Thornton, and this truly philanthropic act was probably due to him.) At the American Embassy great crowds of Americans were gathered. These were referred to the American Relief Committee, which had opened headquarters at the Savoy and was working in harmony with the Embassy. It was here I met Mr.

Oscar S. Straus, who told me something of what the committee was doing. He afterwards gave out a statement to the London papers, which greatly relieved the Americans in London, although, unfortunately, it could not reach the 30,000 Americans left on the Continent. I went straight from the Embassy to the Savoy and got in touch with the American committee, which was doing remarkable work.

They informed me that the American cruiser *Tennessee* was about to sail with a great sum of money in gold to assist the Americans to get home. A banking office was opened, with Mr. F. I. Kent, Vice-President of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York, at the head, which cashed many checks and helped any who were in immediate distress. By Friday the financial situation was relieved; the banks were opened, and it was possible to draw money on Letters of Credit. Also on this day the government issued notes for one pound and others for ten shillings. Then the American Committee turned its attention to securing passage to America for stranded tourists. All the German and French boats had been called off and only a few of the boats of the Dutch and English lines were sailing. The tickets on the Continental lines were valueless, although they will probably be redeemed in New York. On Friday news came that the Cunard line had fitted up the steerage of the Laconia for first-class passengers, and some of the men who had tickets for the Aquitania got passage on the Laconia. In this way some of the men of our party, myself among them, who had urgent family reasons for getting home immediately, got berths. (We sailed the next Saturday, sleeping in the steerage, but in all other regards traveling

first cabin. Our rooms were very satisfactory and clean and well ventilated.) The American Committee assured all that they would be cared for and returned home sooner or later. It was also announced that the United States would soon be sending transports for those who could not get passage on the regular lines.

Wednesday was one of the most memorable days in the House of Commons that English history has seen. It was the day of the great debate on the first appropriation for the war—an appropriation of $500,000,000. Some of our party, through the kindness of our English delegates who were members, were privileged to hear Mr. Asquith's memorable speech to the following motion:

"That a sum, not exceeding £100,000,000, be granted to His Majesty, beyond the ordinary grants of Parliament, towards defraying expenses that may be incurred during the year ending March 31st, 1915, for all measures which may be taken for the security of the country, for the conduct of naval and military operations, for assisting the food supply, for promoting the continuance of trade, industry, and business communications, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk, or otherwise for the relief of distress, and generally for all expenses arising out of the existence of a state of war."

This speech will be one of the great documents of history, and represents the English point of view on this whole matter so fairly that I will quote the most important sections of it here. It shows conclusively how England strove to the bitter end not only to preserve peace between Germany and Russia and Germany and France, but even assured Germany that, would she refrain from aggression and keep calm, England would do everything

to insure her against attack from Russia and France. Even after the bid of Germany to England to betray France, England still stood for peace. The following extracts from the speech make these things plain:

"In asking the House to agree to the resolution which Mr. Speaker has just read from the Chair, I do not propose, because I do not think it is in any way necessary, to traverse the ground again which was covered by my Right Hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary* two or three nights ago. He stated—and I do not think any of the statements he made are capable of answer and certainly have not yet been answered—the grounds upon which, with the utmost reluctance and with infinite regret, His Majesty's government have been compelled to put this country in a state of war with what for many years, and indeed, generations past, has been a friendly power. But, Sir, the papers which have since been presented to Parliament, and which are now in the hands of the hon. Members, will, I think, show how strenuous, how unremitting, how persistent, even when the last glimmer of hope seemed to have faded away, were the efforts of my right hon. Friend to secure for Europe an honorable and a lasting peace. Every one knows in the great crisis which occurred last year in the east of Europe, it was largely if not mainly, by the acknowledgment of all Europe due to the steps taken by my right hon. Friend that the area of the conflict was limited, and that so far as the great Powers are concerned, peace was maintained. If his efforts upon this occasion have, unhappily, been less successful, I am certain this House and the country, and I will add posterity and history, will accord to him what is, after all, the best tribute that can be paid to any statesman: that, never derogating for an instant or by an inch from the honor and interests of his own country, he has striven, as few men have striven, to

* Sir Edward Grey.

maintain and preserve the greatest interest of all countries—universal peace. These papers, which are now in the hands of hon. Members, show something more than that. They show what were the terms which were offered to us in exchange for our neutrality. I trust that not only the Members of this House, but all our fellow-subjects everywhere, will read the communications, will read, learn and mark the communications which passed only a week ago to-day between Berlin and London in this matter. The terms by which it was sought to buy our neutrality are contained in the communication made by the German Chancellor to Sir Edward Goschen on the 29th of July, No. 85 of the published Paper. I think I must refer to them for a moment. After referring to the state of things as between Austria and Russia, Sir Edward Goschen goes on:—

'He then proceeded to make the following strong bid for British neutrality. He said that it was clear, so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy, that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed in any conflict there might be. That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British government that the Imperial government'—let the House observe these words—'aimed at no territorial acquisition at the expense of France, should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue.'

Sir Edward Goschen proceeded to put a very pertinent question:—

'I questioned his Excellency about the French colonies'—

What are the French colonies? They mean every part of the dominions and possessions of France outside the geographical area of Europe—

—'and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect.'

Let me come to what, in my mind, personally, has always been the crucial and almost the governing consideration, namely, the position of the small States:

'As regards Holland, however, His Excellency said that so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, Germany was ready to give His Majesty's government an assurance that she would do likewise.'

Then we come to Belgium:

'It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium, but, when the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany.'

Let the House observe the distinction between those two cases. In regard to Holland it was not only independence and integrity but also neutrality; but in regard to Belgium, there was no mention of neutrality at all, nothing but an assurance that after the war came to an end the integrity of Belgium would be respected. Then His Excellency added:—

'Ever since he had been Chancellor the object of his policy had been to bring about an understanding with England. He trusted these assurances'—the assurances I have read out to the House—'might form the basis of that understanding which he so much desired.'

What does that amount to? Let me just ask the House. I do so, not with the object of inflaming passion, certainly not with the object of exciting feeling against Germany, but I do so to vindicate and make clear the position of the British government in this matter. What did that proposal amount to? In the first place, it meant this: That behind the back of France—they were not made a party to these communications—we should have given, if we had assented to that, a free license to Germany to annex, in the event of a successful war, the whole of the extra European dominions and possessions of France. What did it mean as regards Belgium? When she addressed, as she has addressed in these last few days,

her moving appeal to us to fulfill our solemn guarantee of her neutrality, what reply should we have given? What reply should we have given to that Belgian appeal? We should have been obliged to say that, without her knowledge, we had bartered away to the power threatening her our obligation to keep our plighted word. The House has read, and the country has read, of course, in the last few hours, the most pathetic appeal addressed by the King of Belgium, and I do not envy the man who can read that appeal with an unmoved heart. Belgium are fighting and losing their lives. What would have been the position of Great Britain to-day in the face of that spectacle if we had assented to this infamous proposal? Yes, and what are we to get in return for the betrayal of our friends and the dishonor of our obligations? What are we to get in return? A promise—nothing more; a promise as to what Germany would do in certain eventualities; a promise, be it observed—I am sorry to have to say it, but it must be put upon record—given by a power which was at that very moment announcing its intention to violate its own treaty and inviting us to do the same. I can only say, if we had dallied or temporized, we, as a government, should have covered ourselves with dishonor, and we should have betrayed the interests of this country, of which we are trustees, and I am glad, I think the country will be glad, to turn to the reply which my right hon. Friend made, and of which I will read to the House two of the more salient passages. This document, No. 101 of my Paper, puts on record a week ago the attitude of the British government, and, as I believe, of the British people. My right hon. Friend says:—

'His Majesty's government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms. What he asks us in effect is to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken if France is beaten, so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies.

From the material point of view'—my right hon. Friend, as he always does, used very temperate language —'such a proposal is unacceptable, for France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a great Power, and become subordinate to German policy.'

That is the material aspect. But he proceeded:

'Altogether apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover. The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either.'

He then says:

'We must preserve our full freedom to act as circumstances may seem to us to require.'

And he added, I think, in sentences which the House will appreciate:

'You should . . . add most earnestly that the one way of maintaining the good relations between England and Germany is that they should continue to work together to preserve the peace of Europe. . . . For that object this government will work in that way with all sincerity and good will.

'If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it'—the statement was never more true—'as far as I could, through the last Balkan crisis, and Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so

much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the Powers than has been possible hitherto.'

That document, in my opinion, states clearly, in temperate and convincing language, the attitude of this government. Can any one who reads it fail to appreciate the tone of obvious sincerity and earnestness which underlies it; can any one honestly doubt that the government of this country in spite of great provocation—and I regard the proposals made to us as proposals which we might have thrown aside without consideration and almost without answer—can any one doubt that in spite of great provocation the right hon. Gentleman, who had already earned the title—and no one ever more deserved it—of Peace Maker of Europe, persisted to the very last moment of the last hour in that beneficent but unhappily frustrated purpose. I am entitled to say, and I do so on behalf of this country—I speak not for a party, I speak for the country as a whole—that we made every effort any government could possibly make for peace. But this war has been forced upon us. What is it we are fighting for? Everyone knows, and no one knows better than the government the terrible incalculable suffering, economic, social, personal and political, which war, and especially a war between the Great Powers of the World must entail. There is no man amongst us sitting upon this bench in these trying days—more trying perhaps than any body of statesmen for a hundred years have had to pass through—there is not a man amongst us who has not, during the whole of that time, had clearly before his vision the almost unequalled suffering which war, even in a just cause, must bring about, not only to the people who are for the moment living in this country and in the other countries of the world, but to posterity and to the whole prospects of European civilization. Every step we took we took with that vision before our eyes, and with a sense of responsibility which

it is impossible to describe. Unhappily, if in spite of all our efforts to keep the peace, and with that full and overpowering consciousness of the result, if the issue be decided in favor of war, we have nevertheless thought it to be the duty as well as the interest of this country to go to war, the House may be well assured it was because we believe, and I am certain the country will believe, we are unsheathing our sword in a just cause.

If I am asked what we are fighting for I reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfill a solemn international obligation, an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law, but of honor, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say, secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle which, in these days, when force, material force, sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and over-mastering Power. I do not believe any nation ever entered into a great controversy—and this is one of the greatest history will ever know—with a clearer conscience and stronger conviction that it is fighting, not for aggression, not for the maintenance even of its own selfish interest, but that it is fighting in defence of principles, the maintenance of which is vital to the civilization of the world. With a full convicton, not only of the wisdom and justice, but of the obligations which lay upon us to challenge this great issue, we are entering into the struggle. Let us now make sure that all the resources, not only of this United Kingdom, but of the vast Empire of which it is the center, shall be thrown into the scale, and it is that that object may be adequately secured, that I am now about to ask this committee—to make the very unusual demand upon it—to give the government a Vote of Credit of £100,000,000."

It is needless to say that this speech was received with great enthusiasm; so great was the enthusiasm that some of the peace advocates in Parliament felt saddened at the seeming joy at going to war with Germany. These men had been working with Germans for years in establishing goodwill between the two nations. They believed that there was no quarrel between the Germans and the English people, that the German people had been plunged into this war by a military caste; that we ought to be sad at having to fight them rather than joyful. The speeches made to this effect by our own friends, the English Chairman and the English Secretary of the Conference, Mr. J. Allen Baker, and Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson were so brave and put this feeling so splendidly that I quote them here. I quote them from the Blue Book just as they were given, retaining the interruptions and all, that my readers may see how they were received:

"MR. DICKINSON: I hope that the House will allow me to say a few words on this occasion, and for this reason, that for many years I have worked with other friends of mine for friendship between ourselves and the German nation, and I happened only last week to be sitting at the table with French and German and other individuals whose object was to assist in the promotion of friendship between nations. But I do not rise to refer to that now, nor do I rise in order to criticize the government. I believe myself, from reasons and facts which came to my knowledge in Germany, that this war will be handed down to history as having been caused in the same way as every other war has been caused, by a mutual misunderstanding. (Hon. Members: 'Divide.') But I do not want to raise that question at the present moment; I only rise because I hope that the House will give me the opportunity to say a few words upon the present situation. (Hon. Members: 'No!' and 'Order!')

This is not the time—(Hon. Members: 'Hear, hear!')—for criticism or recrimination; we are in war, and we have to go forward with that war, and, personally, as is the case with every man here, my vote and my voice, and every action of which I would be capable, will be given to the support of our soldiers and sailors in this conflict. It is for this reason that I ask to be allowed to say a few words upon this occasion. Many of us have been laboring for years to bring about an extended friendship between the English and German people, and with great respect I venture to think that we have succeeded. The sentiment of the mass of the German people towards us has improved enormously. (Hon Members: 'Agreed.')

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. WHITLEY): Hon. Member should listen to the Hon. Member. He is entitled to be heard.

MR. DICKINSON: But the great obstacle that we have experienced has been the existence of a great and powerful military caste. A weapon which was formed for the purpose of defence has become an uncontrolled instrument of offence now in that country. It is a class that lives for war, that battens on the lust of aggrandizement, and is always aiming at and preparing for war. It has no regard for men's rights, and no respect for international rules, and its motto is that 'Might is right'! That caste has acquired such strength that it controls not only the feelings and thoughts of the people, but even has too great an influence upon the wishes of its sovereign, and Europe is now witnessing the results of the curse of conscription. This war has been, of course, foreseen, not only by hon. Gentlemen opposite, but by those who have been working for peace as between Germany and ourselves, and it is for that very reason that we have labored to achieve some success in that direction. Our efforts have not altogether failed. They have not failed forever, and later on we think we may still be able to establish that friendship between the two peoples. That

is one of the reasons why I believe that Germany will be beaten in this great conflict, because it will ring the knell of the great military supremacy of those who rule in that country. We are fighting that military caste, and not the people of Germany. The people of Germany have had nothing to do with this war. Of course, it is true that they are enthusiastic for it. I have traveled through the towns of Germany, and have seen enthusiasm similar to that which is to be seen in our streets now, due to war fever, and also to the still more laudable sentiment of sympathy with the men who are going out to fight for their country. But the people of Germany have no knowledge of why they are fighting this war, and in particular why they are fighting against Great Britain. They will, I am sorry to say, not read these debates. They will be told that it is all our fault.

But I do think that, as far as we possibly can, we ought to tell them what is the true reason why Great Britain has interfered in this war, and we may hope that, if we can win, we may lay down such conditions as will destroy that military supremacy which has brought Europe to the brink of destruction. (Interruption.) I want, with great respect to the House—I do not know why they do not listen—to make three suggestions. For one thing, I would urge very strongly that we should not lose our heads and lose all feelings of consideration for the Germans who are among us, many of whom have nothing but loyal and friendly feelings toward us. In the second place, I wish to ask that we shall watch every opportunity of bringing about a satisfactory termination to the war. It will be a war involving great suffering and causing a torrent of blood in Europe, and therefore we should take every possible opportunity of seeing whether some arrangement cannot be arrived at not to carry it further than necessary. And lastly, we ought to be prepared with some plan of settlement. We ought to know exactly, and we ought to let Germany feel that we know exactly, what we are really fighting for. We are fighting for the

*status quo*. We are not fighting for any territorial changes in Europe, one way or the other. I know the feelings of Germany. I know that their one fear is the possibility of a strong combination over the Teutonic nations, and we should do our utmost to see that that result does not accrue from the war. I wish to say these few words to the House, because I feel that we are entering upon a terrible war. When that war comes to an end, the problem will be only just begun. We have a task during the war, and at the end of the war it should be understood that our objects and intentions are as honest as those which we entertain at the present moment.

MR. ALLEN BAKER: I should like to say that I heartily endorse the remarks which have been made by the last two or three speakers. My hon. Friend, the Member for York (Mr. Rowntree), has raised a point of very great importance, and it is one which came under my notice little more than an hour ago, when I was addressing a number of workmen whom I employ. I said to them in regard to reservists who had already gone to do what they believed to be their duty, that they would have their positions safeguarded till they returned from performing that duty. Any of them who may be required by the government for service as engineers, as well as others, I stated, would be treated in the same way. I want entirely and heartily to endorse the words of my hon. Friend, the Member for Cockermouth (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). He has deplored, as I am sure we must all deplore, that the country has been, I suppose, dragged into or forced into this unhappy position, and that we are now at war. I do believe that had we had a different policy in the past we might have prevented this war. We have had offers and offers, again and again, from the great nation of Germany, saying that they want to be close friends with us, that they wanted to cultivate our friendship. In supporting the ideas and sentiments expressed by my hon. Friend, the Member for North St. Pancras (Mr. Dickinson), I believe heartily, from

intimate knowledge of the people of Germany, that the mass of them, including many in high station and positions, have been entirely against this war. They have been, and are, friendly to us in this country, but they have been overborne by the military class who are dominating the position, and who have caused this war. They fear, and they fear not without reason, the great Slav population, who are double the number of the Germans, and who have been arming and preparing for this conflict for years. To Germany, with enemies right and left, east and west, it is a matter of life and death. They feel that they are in a desperate position, and, if you could realize their position, I think you would see that there is very much to be said for the hasty action they have taken. (Hon. Members: 'No, no!') They felt that the only opportunity they possessed was by striking quickly. (Hon. Members: 'Oh, oh!') I say that they have been forced into this position. (Hon. Members: 'No!') I believe they are entering into this war with deep regret, and certainly, on the part of the masses of the people, with great friendship towards us. I have been pained, most deeply pained, to hear the almost laudatory cheers, and to hear sentiments of gladness—almost of joy—that have been expressed by different Members on both sides of the House— (Hon. Members: 'No, no!')—

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure the hon. Member would not like to make any reflection on the motives of his colleagues in this House.

MR. A. BAKER: If the House will permit me to say so, the impression I gathered was— (Hon. Members: 'Withdraw!') I certainly withdraw any imputation against any individual member, but I gathered from the cheers that went up, and they also gave me the impression that many in this House were going into this awful business with a satisfaction. (An Hon. Member: 'We are as sorry as you are!')

THE CHAIRMAN: If aspersions of that kind were made, they might have to be made from two points of view, and that is most undesirable.

MR. A. BAKER: Perhaps I may be permitted to put it this way. In the enthusiasm of loyalty there are expressions often used that make one almost weep with sadness to see with what alacrity we are ready to go and slay— (Hon. Members: 'No, no!' and 'Sit down!')

THE CHAIRMAN: I must appeal to the Hon. Member to give other Members of the House the same credit for sincerity which the whole House has always accorded to him.

MR. A. BAKER: I entirely withdraw anything against any hon. Member, but, having just passed during the last thirty hours through the country where war is about to be waged, and then coming to this country and finding the same thing in our streets, and already almost we see the spirit of 'Mafficking.' (Hon. Members: 'No, no!' 'Withdraw!' 'Sit down!') That is the impression which I have gained, and the point I wish to make is this, that we are entering on one of the most horrible acts in this and other countries of Europe that will have effects and results that we can in no way at the present moment estimate, war is of such a horrible character with the present weapons and with the machinery of slaughter to mow down men. I do not intend to Vote against this Vote. In entering on this war it should be with feelings of the deepest sadness, and with the prayer that it may soon come to an end, and with the desire that a generous and lasting peace may soon be agreed to."

It was interesting to note the fact that, at the very moment when England was entering upon the war, from many sources came the appeal to Englishmen to be both calm and just.

A specially convened meeting of the General Committee of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, held at the Memorial Hall August 5th, adopted the following resolution:

"The crime and horror of a universal war has fallen upon European civilization. It is useless to seek nicely to apportion blame. Our first duty is to humble ourselves before God and to wait upon Him.

"It is a matter for thankfulness that the efforts of Britain, though unhappily unsuccessful, were put forth strenuously and to the last moment on behalf of peace, and that our intervention has been determined by regard for weaker nations, and for the sanctity of the treaties which safeguard them.

"In these conditions the Council appeals to the Free Churches of this country to realize their high responsibilities and to discharge them faithfully.

"The Churches should arrange a service of daily united prayer that the nation may be Divinely guided, and that peace may speedily be restored.

"The duty rests upon the Churches steadily to foster those more generous and humane sentiments which war so ruthlessly destroys.

"The Churches should steadily inculcate the duties of self-restraint and mutual consideration. In particular, they must denounce all endeavors to snatch selfish advantages through either greed or panic, and, above all, must emphasize the importance of general self-sacrifice in the interests of the poor, upon whom the worst hardships of the war threaten to fall.

"The Churches must be prepared to co-operate at once with the Government and with the civic authorities in administering to any distress that may arise.

"They must be continually on the watch in order that they may offer, as occasion may arise, counsels of wisdom and moderation."

The following directions for Englishmen appeared in the London papers of August 6th and attracted much attention:

First and foremost.—Keep your heads. Be calm. Go about your ordinary business quietly and soberly. Do not indulge in excitement or foolish demonstrations.

Secondly.—Think of others more than you are wont to do. Think of your duty to your neighbor. Think of the common weal.

Try to contribute your share by doing your duty in your own place and your own sphere. Be abstemious and economical. Avoid waste.

Do not store goods and create an artificial scarcity to the hurt of others. Remember that is an act of mean and selfish cowardice.

Do not hoard gold. Let it circulate. Try to make things easier, not more difficult.

Remember those who are worse off than yourself. Pay punctually what you owe, especially to your poorest creditors, such as washerwomen and charwomen.

If you are an employer think of your employed. Give them work and wages as long as you can, and work short time rather than close down.

If you are employed remember the difficulties of your employer. Instead of dwelling on your own privations think of the infinitely worse state of those who live at the seat of war and are not only thrown out of work but deprived of all they possess.

Do what you can to cheer and encourage our soldiers. Gladly help any organization for their comfort and welfare.

Explain to the young and the ignorant what war is, and why we have been forced to wage it.

One of the finest utterances on peace we have ever seen was the Message of the Friends "to men and women of goodwill," which was sent out on the evening of August 7th. It is printed in full in the Appendix. *

* See Appendix VII.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE COLLAPSE OF CIVILIZATION

Has civilization collapsed in Europe? Has Christianity been thrown to the dogs, and have the nations gone mad? In a moment, almost without premonition, millions of men on the Continent have become frenzied, and with wild eyes, with bestial thirst for blood, and with savage yells are rushing to rip their brothers' bowels out. Women are rushing from besieged and burning cities with tiny babies in their arms, and little, cold, hungry, tired boys and girls, hardly old enough to walk, trying to keep up. Poverty stares millions in the face—poverty not only during this war, but during long years to come. Thousands of women are to be widowed, millions of little children are to be left fatherless. Natural affections are even now blotted out and their places being taken by strange, cruel lusts and passions. The virtue of women will be a free commodity for all soldiers. Drunkenness has already spread throughout these lands in a mad orgy. All industry will be ruined. Thousands of farms and villages will be laid waste. Thousands of schools and churches will be blown up. Hatreds will be engendered which will keep Europe irritated fifty years after the peace of exhaustion shall have come. The commerce of the world will be upset. The general morality of Europe will be lowered to a point where the churches will have to begin all over again and work a hundred years to restore it. Already thousands of atheists have been made. Almost every other man we have met in Europe this last week

has shook his head with sadness and said: "What's the good of Christianity if it cannot stop this sort of thing." It is as if the Devil and all his angels had taken complete possession of Europe.

And what is it all about? Nobody knows. The German people do not know why they are fighting the French and English and Russians. The French people do not know why, suddenly, without a week's warning, they were fighting the Germans. The English people had no more desire to go to war with Germans than have we in America, and yet with hardly a week's notice they are crossing the Channel to shoot their brothers, with whom, only five days before, they had been assembled in a medical conference and a peace conference, brothers knowing no nationality, only kindly comradeship, common goodwill toward all men. Who started it? No one knows who originally started it, for no one knows what despicable intrigues have been going on in one of two governments for years. All one knows is that Austria, most cowardly and reckless of nations, knowing she would plunge all Europe into arms, to get revenge for a crime committed by an individual, who should have been punished as an individual, attacks a weak, impoverished nation, and Germany, instead of rebuking her, evidently stands behind; while, of course, Russia, friend of Servia, begins to mobilize her troops to befriend Servia. Then Germany has to mobilize. Then, of course, France gets frightened and mobilizes her army. England tries to bring the nations together for friendly conference, but Austria will not listen. England remains neutral to the last. Then Germany goes crazy and begins recklessly to violate all treaties of neutrality, and seemingly is anxious to drag

England into the war against her. And here we have the sight in the twentieth century of Christ's Churches of eight nations doing their best to annihilate one another, while at the same time the good people in every one of these nations, previous to the sudden spread of the war fever, bore no illwill to the good people of the other nations—indeed, had much goodwill.

We have just come through it all and know whereof we speak. Right on the eve of conflict, while all Europe was mobilizing its troops, with the sound of German soldiers marching off to war, eighty men, including Germans, English, French, Swiss, Scandinavians, Bulgarians and Americans, sat together in the parlors of the Insel Hotel at Constance, Germany, praying, while the other citizens of these countries were preparing to fight. There was no reason in the world why all the rest of the Germans, French and English should not have been praying instead of fighting, except that they who began the fighting were not Christians, while those who were at Constance were. No power in heaven or earth could have involved the French and German delegates at Constance in a war. They had passed beyond the war stage into the kingdom of God. The sessions of this Peace Conference of the Churches went right on while the war clouds gathered, the war only giving intensity to their purpose to work harder to persuade the nations of their folly. (And there was considerable feeling that it would be easy to do this after this awful cataclysm was over.) German, French and English delegates all pledged lasting friendship to one another, and declared that when this nightmare of the nations should pass they would come together in the same old bonds. Perhaps the only

solution of this awful curse of nations is the increase of these men of goodwill to be the majority in each nation and to have the power of government in their hands.

These Christians, these men of goodwill, these men who put Christ and brotherly love above revenge and chauvenistic nationalism, found they must leave Constance early in the morning of the day when they had hoped to continue their conference. It was the last day on which the German government could guarantee the safe passage of the English and American delegates across Germany. With not one dissenting vote the Conference voted *not to dissolve, not to stop crying goodwill amidst the clamor for revenge, not to cease saying Christ must ultimately prevail although all Europe seemed deserting Him.* It was resolved that the congress continue its sessions in London two days after. The Germans and French could not go, having been forbidden to leave their countries by this time. But the Scandinavians and others went along with the English and American delegates.

This trip across Germany on the *eve* of war was so remarkable and so full of indication of what real war would soon be that I may be pardoned if I refer to it here, although I have described our experiences at length in previous chapters. We were under the special protection of the Kaiser and had two special cars put at our disposal. After a long journey lasting all day and all night we were dropped at the Dutch border (Goch) on the way to Flushing. But what a day! How it wrung one's heart! How it made our American delegates sick of the very thought of war forever! We saw all the young men and boys being driven like sheep into pens to be sent

off to kill men they did not know and with whom they had no quarrel. We saw mothers and wives weeping at the departure of the men, and little children crying, although they knew nothing of what it was all about. We saw men go crazy at this parting and have to be put in cords and held. We saw great crowds drunk with brandy, and howling "To Hell with Germany" or "To Hell with France." We saw French soldiers try to pull a German out of a train window, while he clung to his two little babies that he was trying to get into Switzerland, We saw Germans yank a Russian and his wife out of a train, and so frighten the wife that her little baby could not nurse for two days. We saw swarms of Germans trying to get out of France with their poor wives and babies, with no one to help and with French soldiers jeering at them and threatening them. Some of our party saw the Germans stand four Servians up against a wall and shoot them right down because they refused to assume German arms. We saw industry stopped, and carts full of mere boys packed into freight cars with horses, and bundled off to the frontier. It was all prophetic of the awful suffering which was to come. But what we saw, in the complete degradation of all the finer human, Christian instincts on every hand, made our hearts bleed. It was impossible to believe. Even now that we are back in America, with the newsboys shouting every hour the news of many thousands slain, it is almost impossible to believe it is not all a dream.

What does it all mean? It means many things. First of all it means that there is something the matter with our Christianity, or else that we are not presenting it truly. For it seems to have no power whatever over men

or nations when any *real* provocative of men's passions comes. Most of these millions of men who are now drunk with lust of killing, and hoarsely shouting for their brothers' blood, have been calling themselves Christians and have been taught in Christian schools and churches. And in a day it is all forgotten, and if one who remembers dares suggest, as a few did suggest in the various parliaments and in the press, that we remember our religion, he is hooted down. Is it that the human heart is too desperately wicked for even Christianity to control it when the deepest passions of all, revenge and lust of blood, are aroused? Is it that it can find only a few in each community—which is all it has yet done—whom it can fully regenerate? Or is it that we have been concerned too much with dealing with those sins which are more easily uprooted and controlled, and have neglected to uproot those awful, fiendish, demoniacal passions that burst forth at such a time as this? Or have we in our endeavor to inculcate righteousness in our personal dealing with our brother of our own land neglected altogether to eradicate from men the beast which such a crisis as this reveals as only slumbering. For the thousands of men we saw howling in all the cities of Europe were not men any longer. They had become beasts. The beast could even be seen in their eyes. They howled for only three things: drink, women, and blood of their brothers. Perhaps there has got to be a wholly new presentation of Christianity before these things can be stopped. Perhaps we have got really to teach what Christ himself taught, namely, that love of all Christians for each other, all men of goodwill for one another, must transcend race, nationality and every other bond.

We have never dared preach this, although it was continually on Christ's lips. He even went further, and said it must transcend family ties. It would be as impossible for one Christian to kill another, did we really believe in Christ and accept His Gospel, as it would be for a man to kill his mother. Another thing which we think every American of the fifty who got this first sight of war has come to feel is that our religion has broken down in its psychology, that our Gospel has been addressed to a man who does not exist, that our sermons have been preached to an imaginary man. We have been preaching to men as highly respectable, on the whole good, some of them saintly, while as a matter of fact this has been only seeming. They have seemed this because great temptations have not roused them from their sleep. No one who came across Europe within the last month can ever hold this easy faith again. Men are beasts; cruel, lustful, revengeful, ravening, just as the Gospel represents them. There are exceptions, but in most of us the beast lies just below the surface, and nothing but a regeneration which shall sweep through men's souls as a wind from heaven can make them clean. There is no hope for Europe until it is seen that men's souls need a power to cleanse them from the dominion of the beast, far greater than either the church or ethical culture is at present providing.

In the second place it means the complete collapse of the present political order. Whatever may be the outcome of this terrible Armageddon, one thing is settled forever—that the present political and international order is utterly inadequate to either secure justice or preserve the peace. For years these nations have been piling up

vast armaments, Germany, Austria, France, England and Russia, "to preserve the peace." This is what they all have said—and, we have no doubt, said it sincerely. So each one has armed, each one in a mad rush to outdo the other. None have wanted war—but war was inevitable as an outcome. It will be always so. Many have foreseen it. Only a year ago two of the best known Englishmen, Canon Henson and Alfred Noyes, told Americans that if this arming went on the universal slaughter was sure to come. It has come. It is the only logical thing that could come. Nations that are bristling with arms are always going to fight. All Europe is learning this lesson to-day through an awful experience, but perhaps it is the only way men without insight could be taught. Never again can any man say "the way to get peace is to prepare for war." He can say "the way to protect yourself is to arm," perhaps, for it is impossible to see how any one nation in Europe can cease to arm so long as others do. Neither Germany nor Austria can any longer be trusted, both of them having broken the most sacred treaties without a qualm. But that the way to get justice or peace is to prepare for war has been dissipated forever. *Armaments mean war.* That is now settled forever, and is no longer worth debating. On the other hand, any disarmament must be simultaneous. We found many statesmen, with whom we talked in Europe, feeling that Europe will have her faith in arms, and iron, and powder as the basis of civilization, justice and peace, so rudely shattered, that they will be willing to come together and consider whether it is not time to go on to the new basis of law, justice, international co-operation and armaments reduced to a police basis. This is the

point every American should urge upon Europe in this hour when she will be impressionable to this gospel.

In the third place, the kind of *patriotism* the nations of Europe have been cherishing is discredited also, and proved a source of infinite misery even to the country toward which it is directed. This whole miserable business has arisen out of a perverted patriotism, a race consciousness raised to the power of madness. It was a Servian "patriot," a devotee of "Greater Servia," who threw the bomb that stirred Austria to revenge. All through Europe there is this patriotism which makes a god of one's country and declares there is no other god, which is forever imputing intrigues and schemes to other countries, which goes into fervors about one's own country that exasperates other countries, which would clamor for little rights for one's own country and bring on a war, regardless of the effect it would have upon six or eight innocent countries, which puts love of country above love of one's country being right, and which talks more about love of country than it does about love of God and all His children. This awful tragedy, beyond anything since Napoleon's day, is the result of this sort of patriotism. The time has come to lift this quality up into something high, noble and universal. We are glad the report of the Federal Council delegates at Constance to the churches of America emphasizes this need of Christianizing patriotism.

Finally, one thing even the blind can see lies at the root of all this calamity of the nations, and that is our neglect to preach the one truth on which any lasting order of justice or peace can be reared, namely, that *nations must be amenable to the same Christian ethics*

*that govern the relationships of men.* There can be no double standard of ethics in the kingdom of God. Right must be right and wrong be wrong throughout the whole universe of men. If it is wrong for men to steal, it is just as criminal for big nations to seize little ones. If it is wrong for men to murder, it is wrong for nations to kill and destroy weaker nations, or men in any nation. If it is unchristian for men to settle their disputes with their fists, it is wrong for nations to adjust their quarrels by iron fists on sea or land. If it is Christian for a man to negotiate on all questions with his brother in the sweet Christian spirit of forbearance, charity, even forgiveness, what else can be Christian for nations? We have not believed this, we have not preached it in our pulpits, nor taught it in our schools. We are going to learn it now in this year of agony. Every pulpit should reiterate it every week.

We heard many saying, "This is God's way of accomplishing some great thing." Let us be very careful how we say that. Man's wickedness is too apparent in it all. We are always too ready to impute our crimes and sins to God. It is much more likely that God is weeping in the heavens because we are killing the members of His family, His little babies, His sons and daughters—*and all over nothing.* That is the pity of it—*all over nothing.* No great principle at stake (except as England entered in to help the neutral nations), no holy cause to defend, no issue that can be of any value to the world, no gain that can come to any nation commensurate to the loss all will sustain. Conceived in intrigue and revenge, being waged in lust and furious hatreds—let us not impute any of it to the Father who loves all His children equally.

## CHAPTER IX.

## WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR?

It is easy to say who is directly responsible. Anyone who will read "The White Book," published in London, August 8th,* and containing the full correspondence between Sir Edward Grey and the European powers can see in a moment who brought on the war. The mad Servian boy who killed the Austrian Archduke lit the fire. Austria, by taking revenge with arms instead of laying the matter before a tribunal, fanned the flames. Then Russia began to mobilize, and that frightened Germany out of her wits and she began to mobilize. But all this time England was doing her best, through Sir Edward Grey, to restrain both Russia and Germany from mobilizing and to persuade Germany to use her influence to bring Austria and Russia together for a conversation. Then France began to mobilize from fear of Germany. But France joined with England in talking peace to the end, and at no time was anxious for war. Just when Sir Edward Grey's extraordinary efforts to bring Austria and Russia together for a conversation with regard to Servia had some promise of success, Germany issued her arbitrary ultimatum to Russia, without consulting other nations, setting an impossible time limit. Then, when at last Sir Edward Grey's heroic efforts seemed about to be crowned with success, inasmuch as Austria and Russia agreed to meet in conference with the other powers—which would certainly have averted the terrible

* Printed in full in the New York *Times* of August 23d.

war and filled all Europe with joy—lo! impossible to believe, Germany refused to enter this conference of the nations. There is no other conclusion to be drawn, as much as we regret to draw it, than this, that Germany not only precipitated the war, but *desired* it. There are many other things in "The White Book" which lead to this same conclusion, and we advise everyone who wants to see just exactly how this war originated to read this book.

It was this refusal of Germany to enter the conference that dismayed Great Britain and first led the British people to believe that war was inevitable. It was also this refusal that called out the now famous message of Mr. Carnegie to the Neutrality League of London, which has been quoted on page sixty-one.

But, although Germany is directly responsible for the war, all the nations must bear their share of the blame, and all people, even we in the United States.

Every man in Europe who has urged armament, guns, militarism, the mailed fist, and force as the basis of civilization and as assurance of peace is to blame for this war. It has proved the great fallacy of the day, and the world is now seeing it. But it has been the fallacy of history, and intelligent people should have known this long ago and have put it in the junk heap of outworn things a hundred years ago. Every intelligent man in Europe has known since boyhood that the whole system was accursed of Satan and utterly contradictory to the sweet spirit of goodwill and love taught by his Christian religion, and he should have been getting his government on to this basis long ago. There is absolutely no hope for permanent peace in Europe under this present system of bristling

armament. Did every man in America go about waving a great pistol in each hand, and with a dagger between his teeth in addition, our streets would be full of perpetual brawls. The same thing is true of nations. Every wise man knew this thing must come sooner or later as he saw Germany, Russia, France and England arming, arming and arming! (Just as every wise man knew there was no danger of war between Canada and the United States because there were no arms upon the three thousand mile border line.) We say, every wise man knew that war would sooner or later come if this went on. And every man who urged it is to blame for this war. But the people of England, Russia and France have been equally guilty with Germany in trusting force instead of God, and in looking to guns for keeping the peace instead of seeking justice, charity, law, brotherhood, as guarantee of peace.

Every man in Europe who has not been working for the creation of an international court and urging the nations to commit themselves to submitting their disputes to it has been helping on this war. Armaments were piling up and up; the nations were groaning in their endeavor to surpass one another in powder, guns and knives. There was nothing under the heavens could stop it and save Europe from a war except the perfecting of this court. A good start was made. Two conferences had been held. Even the Kaiser—with many German sympathizers—had shown interest in it, and taken part in it, in spite of the protests of the Bernhardis and the rest of the military clique and believers in war. Real enthusiasm on the part of the leaders and people of England, France, Germany and the United States

would have so perfected this machinery by this time that the war could have been averted. But the people lay supinely back on guns and powder—and now these very things have blown them all to pieces. Even in peace-loving England it has been hard to stir up any enthusiasm over a Third Hague Conference. Neither is the United States free from blame here. Everywhere in Europe we heard men saying: "Ah, if we only had our Hague Court and the nations committed to it, this thing might not have happened." "Yes," we always answered, "but what have *you* and your countrymen been doing to establish this court?" What have we in the United States been doing to thus prevent these wars?

Among the things that keep the military system alive in Europe and make nations go on arming and arming are the suspicions one people have of another. There is one nation in Europe which by book and paper and even by official proclamation has been deliberately nurturing this attitude of suspicion. One of these vile books inculcates the doctrine that every other nation is the enemy of the one to which it is addressed and is only waiting to invade it. It even puts the United States down among those to be distrusted, and says: "Beware of its peace talk. It is all buncombe." This book is a sort of Bible in the army of this particular country. This suspicion exists in a lesser degree in all European nations. Its end is what we are now witnessing in Europe. It was more directly responsible for the failure of Sir Edward Grey's efforts than anything else. There are those in the United States who would arouse it here toward Japan. These are the warmakers. Everyone, both here and in Europe, who encourages this suspicion—yes, even

England into the war against her. And here we have the sight in the twentieth century of Christ's Churches of eight nations doing their best to annihilate one another, while at the same time the good people in every one of these nations, previous to the sudden spread of the war fever, bore no illwill to the good people of the other nations—indeed, had much goodwill.

We have just come through it all and know whereof we speak. Right on the eve of conflict, while all Europe was mobilizing its troops, with the sound of German soldiers marching off to war, eighty men, including Germans, English, French, Swiss, Scandinavians, Bulgarians and Americans, sat together in the parlors of the Insel Hotel at Constance, Germany, praying, while the other citizens of these countries were preparing to fight. There was no reason in the world why all the rest of the Germans, French and English should not have been praying instead of fighting, except that they who began the fighting were not Christians, while those who were at Constance were. No power in heaven or earth could have involved the French and German delegates at Constance in a war. They had passed beyond the war stage into the kingdom of God. The sessions of this Peace Conference of the Churches went right on while the war clouds gathered, the war only giving intensity to their purpose to work harder to persuade the nations of their folly. (And there was considerable feeling that it would be easy to do this after this awful cataclysm was over.) German, French and English delegates all pledged lasting friendship to one another, and declared that when this nightmare of the nations should pass they would come together in the same old bonds. Perhaps the only

solution of this awful curse of nations is the increase of these men of goodwill to be the majority in each nation and to have the power of government in their hands.

These Christians, these men of goodwill, these men who put Christ and brotherly love above revenge and chauvenistic nationalism, found they must leave Constance early in the morning of the day when they had hoped to continue their conference. It was the last day on which the German government could guarantee the safe passage of the English and American delegates across Germany. With not one dissenting vote the Conference voted *not to dissolve, not to stop crying goodwill amidst the clamor for revenge, not to cease saying Christ must ultimately prevail although all Europe seemed deserting Him.* It was resolved that the congress continue its sessions in London two days after. The Germans and French could not go, having been forbidden to leave their countries by this time. But the Scandinavians and others went along with the English and American delegates.

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In the second place it means the complete collapse of the present political order. Whatever may be the outcome of this terrible Armageddon, one thing is settled forever—that the present political and international order is utterly inadequate to either secure justice or preserve the peace. For years these nations have been piling up

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In the third place, the kind of *patriotism* the nations of Europe have been cherishing is discredited also, and proved a source of infinite misery even to the country toward which it is directed. This whole miserable business has arisen out of a perverted patriotism, a race consciousness raised to the power of madness. It was a Servian "patriot," a devotee of "Greater Servia," who threw the bomb that stirred Austria to revenge. All through Europe there is this patriotism which makes a god of one's country and declares there is no other god, which is forever imputing intrigues and schemes to other countries, which goes into fervors about one's own country that exasperates other countries, which would clamor for little rights for one's own country and bring on a war, regardless of the effect it would have upon six or eight innocent countries, which puts love of country above love of one's country being right, and which talks more about love of country than it does about love of God and all His children. This awful tragedy, beyond anything since Napoleon's day, is the result of this sort of patriotism. The time has come to lift this quality up into something high, noble and universal. We are glad the report of the Federal Council delegates at Constance to the churches of America emphasizes this need of Christianizing patriotism.

Finally, one thing even the blind can see lies at the root of all this calamity of the nations, and that is our neglect to preach the one truth on which any lasting order of justice or peace can be reared, namely, that *nations must be amenable to the same Christian ethics*

*that govern the relationships of men.* There can be no double standard of ethics in the kingdom of God. Right must be right and wrong be wrong throughout the whole universe of men. If it is wrong for men to steal, it is just as criminal for big nations to seize little ones. If it is wrong for men to murder, it is wrong for nations to kill and destroy weaker nations, or men in any nation. If it is unchristian for men to settle their disputes with their fists, it is wrong for nations to adjust their quarrels by iron fists on sea or land. If it is Christian for a man to negotiate on all questions with his brother in the sweet Christian spirit of forbearance, charity, even forgiveness, what else can be Christian for nations? We have not believed this, we have not preached it in our pulpits, nor taught it in our schools. We are going to learn it now in this year of agony. Every pulpit should reiterate it every week.

We heard many saying, "This is God's way of accomplishing some great thing." Let us be very careful how we say that. Man's wickedness is too apparent in it all. We are always too ready to impute our crimes and sins to God. It is much more likely that God is weeping in the heavens because we are killing the members of His family, His little babies, His sons and daughters—*and all over nothing.* That is the pity of it—*all over nothing.* No great principle at stake (except as England entered in to help the neutral nations), no holy cause to defend, no issue that can be of any value to the world, no gain that can come to any nation commensurate to the loss all will sustain. Conceived in intrigue and revenge, being waged in lust and furious hatreds—let us not impute any of it to the Father who loves all His children equally.

## CHAPTER IX.

## WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR?

It is easy to say who is directly responsible. Anyone who will read "The White Book," published in London, August 8th,* and containing the full correspondence between Sir Edward Grey and the European powers can see in a moment who brought on the war. The mad Servian boy who killed the Austrian Archduke lit the fire. Austria, by taking revenge with arms instead of laying the matter before a tribunal, fanned the flames. Then Russia began to mobilize, and that frightened Germany out of her wits and she began to mobilize. But all this time England was doing her best, through Sir Edward Grey, to restrain both Russia and Germany from mobilizing and to persuade Germany to use her influence to bring Austria and Russia together for a conversation. Then France began to mobilize from fear of Germany. But France joined with England in talking peace to the end, and at no time was anxious for war. Just when Sir Edward Grey's extraordinary efforts to bring Austria and Russia together for a conversation with regard to Servia had some promise of success, Germany issued her arbitrary ultimatum to Russia, without consulting other nations, setting an impossible time limit. Then, when at last Sir Edward Grey's heroic efforts seemed about to be crowned with success, inasmuch as Austria and Russia agreed to meet in conference with the other powers—which would certainly have averted the terrible

* Printed in full in the New York *Times* of August 23d.

war and filled all Europe with joy—lo! impossible to believe, Germany refused to enter this conference of the nations. There is no other conclusion to be drawn, as much as we regret to draw it, than this, that Germany not only precipitated the war, but *desired* it. There are many other things in "The White Book" which lead to this same conclusion, and we advise everyone who wants to see just exactly how this war originated to read this book.

It was this refusal of Germany to enter the conference that dismayed Great Britain and first led the British people to believe that war was inevitable. It was also this refusal that called out the now famous message of Mr. Carnegie to the Neutrality League of London, which has been quoted on page sixty-one.

But, although Germany is directly responsible for the war, all the nations must bear their share of the blame, and all people, even we in the United States.

Every man in Europe who has urged armament, guns, militarism, the mailed fist, and force as the basis of civilization and as assurance of peace is to blame for this war. It has proved the great fallacy of the day, and the world is now seeing it. But it has been the fallacy of history, and intelligent people should have known this long ago and have put it in the junk heap of outworn things a hundred years ago. Every intelligent man in Europe has known since boyhood that the whole system was accursed of Satan and utterly contradictory to the sweet spirit of goodwill and love taught by his Christian religion, and he should have been getting his government on to this basis long ago. There is absolutely no hope for permanent peace in Europe under this present system of bristling

armament. Did every man in America go about waving a great pistol in each hand, and with a dagger between his teeth in addition, our streets would be full of perpetual brawls. The same thing is true of nations. Every wise man knew this thing must come sooner or later as he saw Germany, Russia, France and England arming, arming and arming! (Just as every wise man knew there was no danger of war between Canada and the United States because there were no arms upon the three thousand mile border line.) We say, every wise man knew that war would sooner or later come if this went on. And every man who urged it is to blame for this war. But the people of England, Russia and France have been equally guilty with Germany in trusting force instead of God, and in looking to guns for keeping the peace instead of seeking justice, charity, law, brotherhood, as guarantee of peace.

Every man in Europe who has not been working for the creation of an international court and urging the nations to commit themselves to submitting their disputes to it has been helping on this war. Armaments were piling up and up; the nations were groaning in their endeavor to surpass one another in powder, guns and knives. There was nothing under the heavens could stop it and save Europe from a war except the perfecting of this court. A good start was made. Two conferences had been held. Even the Kaiser—with many German sympathizers—had shown interest in it, and taken part in it, in spite of the protests of the Bernhardis and the rest of the military clique and believers in war. Real enthusiasm on the part of the leaders and people of England, France, Germany and the United States

would have so perfected this machinery by this time that the war could have been averted. But the people lay supinely back on guns and powder—and now these very things have blown them all to pieces. Even in peace-loving England it has been hard to stir up any enthusiasm over a Third Hague Conference. Neither is the United States free from blame here. Everywhere in Europe we heard men saying: "Ah, if we only had our Hague Court and the nations committed to it, this thing might not have happened." "Yes," we always answered, "but what have *you* and your countrymen been doing to establish this court?" What have we in the United States been doing to thus prevent these wars?

Among the things that keep the military system alive in Europe and make nations go on arming and arming are the suspicions one people have of another. There is one nation in Europe which by book and paper and even by official proclamation has been deliberately nurturing this attitude of suspicion. One of these vile books inculcates the doctrine that every other nation is the enemy of the one to which it is addressed and is only waiting to invade it. It even puts the United States down among those to be distrusted, and says: "Beware of its peace talk. It is all buncombe." This book is a sort of Bible in the army of this particular country. This suspicion exists in a lesser degree in all European nations. Its end is what we are now witnessing in Europe. It was more directly responsible for the failure of Sir Edward Grey's efforts than anything else. There are those in the United States who would arouse it here toward Japan. These are the warmakers. Everyone, both here and in Europe, who encourages this suspicion—yes, even

does not fight it and try to substitute that mutual trust between decent men of all nations, which is the essence of Christianity—is an abettor of this war and a breeder of wars yet to come.

Who is responsible for the war? Just as the war was beginning to rage all over Europe, the news was received that Pope Pius X had died of grief brought on by the war. The thought of it overwhelmed him. During his last hours he brooded over it continually and bemoaned the impotence of the Church to prevent the cruel deluging of Europe with blood, pain, poverty, hatred and atheism. As I write the Cardinals are assemblying for the solemn Conclave in Rome, at which a successor to Pius X will be elected. They are also talking of sending out a plea to the rulers to cease from warring and to pursue peace again. It will have no force, but it is well that they should send it. The Right should always speak, even though it do so while being crucified. The resurrection is sure to come out of every Calvary. But here is our point: the poor Pope dies crying for peace; the Cardinals are praying for peace; the Protestant churches are likewise rebuking the nations, and in our own land are urging the President of the United States to offer mediation to the warring powers. But if the churches of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States had begun, say, only fifty years ago proclaiming the gospel of goodwill among nations as a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, calling nations to account before the same bar of judgment as that to which they brought individuals, approving and rebuking them by the same standards, war would probably have become impossible by

this time. If the Church had universally begun preaching fifty years ago, that war has no more in common with Christianity than have drunkenness, adultery, murder, and lying, war would have, by this time, been held in something of that same horror in which good people hold these other things. If the Catholic Church had announced fifty years ago that any man who took the sword, be he Emperor or peasant, excepting in defense of his invaded country, or in defense of justice, would be excommunicated, there would be a great difference in the attitude of men toward this foulest crime earth knows. If the Protestant churches had unanimously taught that when man became a member of Christ's Church he arose into citizenship in a kingdom which knew no national or racial bonds, neither Greek, barbarian, nor Scythian, but his chief allegiance was to Jesus Christ and his closest tie was with all Christians —his real brothers—there would to-day be a sense of kinship among all Christians that would make war of Christian against Christian abhorrent. (Yet this is what we are witnessing to-day—Christians ripping Christians to pieces.) If the whole Church had stood as a rock against this entire business of armament and militarism —stood as those few stood in Switzerland last January when the "Conference of the Evangelical Churches" issued its remarkable appeal to the Christian churches of Europe—then there would have been none of this making every nation a huge, menacing powder factory ready to go off at the dropping of one match. If our churches had for fifty years been everywhere teaching their children the heroism of peace instead of the heroism of war, teaching that the good, great men were not the

generals, the conquerors, the devastators, the ambitious, the destroyers, the warriors, but the good, great men were the saviors of the world, who, with Jesus Christ, were great in moral power, warriors in the realm of the spirit, while gentle, lovable, humane, mild, were the men who saved, gave, loved, blessed, cherished their fellow-men—if the Church had taught that the heroes of the spirit were the real heroes—their children would have looked on the men who slaughtered each other on fields of battle as now they look upon men who kill each other in brawls upon the street.

But how has it been? Is this passage from the "Appeal to the Christian Churches" by the Swiss pastors too severe an indictment of the churches?

"We are well aware of all the moral and social progress that has been made under the influence of that Gospel which is being preached more or less faithfully by all the churches. We recognize the action of the spirit of Christ in the international laws designed to mitigate the horrors of war, in the recourse to arbitration made by some powers, and in those international congresses held in favor of peace. But what the churches have done during these last centuries, by indirect rather than by direct action, against war and in favor of peace, is little or nothing in comparison with what they could and ought to have done in order to maintain faithful to the spirit of their divine Master, or even simply to follow the example of the Church of the Middle Ages in its efforts towards the establishment of the Truce of God. We ought, in this respect, to humble ourselves before God, and humbly to recognize that in the war on war, in the efforts made hitherto to burst the barriers which sin has raised between the nations, and to lead these to thoughts of peace, the churches have not taken the place and the position which was their duty and their right.

"This neglect—this, so to speak, official neglect—of our Christian duty cannot longer continue without scandalizing the world and without covering with opprobrium the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is absolutely essential that all the churches which have at heart the glory of their Master and the advancement of the Kingdom of God shall understand and undertake, without delay, the task which thrusts itself upon their attention. It is absolutely essential that in this Europe of ours, armed to the teeth, the churches shall uplift their voices with all their strength and cry: 'Peace on earth, goodwill to men!' It is absolutely essential that they strive with all their might against prejudice, selfish interest and that false patriotism which sows jealousy and hatred among the nations. It is absolutely essential that they work together for the substitution of right for brute force—of arbitration for war. It is absolutely essential that they rouse the nations, not to a ruinous competition in armaments, but to a fruitful emulation in the arts of peace."

Have the churches been doing the things we have mentioned above, which our friends have held before them in their appeal? The poor Pope dies because he cannot prevent the war. If we remember rightly, the Pope lent his sanction to one of those wars which had no slightest shred of moral justification—the war of Italy in Tripoli—and the Church blessed the troops. We ourselves remember seeing a mason carving on the walls of a great cathedral in England the names of the men who lost their lives shooting Boers.

The churches of Russia sang *Te Deums* over the Russo-Japanese war. There has never yet come from the Roman Catholic Church, or the Greek Church, or the Anglican Church, any official condemnation of the whole system of militarism, or the basing of European civiliza-

tion upon force, so far as we know. Neither do we recall any official condemnation of any war. Who is to blame for this war? *The Church is to blame.* Perhaps this war will bring this truth home to her.

But in vindication of certain men within the Church, and of certain churches within the Universal Church, we want to say that this war came just as large sections of the Church were awaking to their responsibility in this matter. For ten years now, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has been speaking out boldly against war and militarism. It has stood behind all efforts of our Presidents and Secretaries of State for arbitration. Various denominations in recent years have passed strong peace resolutions at their national assemblies. The Church Peace Union, endowed by Mr. Carnegie in February of 1914, has representatives of all the great denominations on its Board and has acted vigorously and boldly, and had just brought all leaders of the Protestant churches of the world together for this Conference at Constance, as the war broke out. The Catholics were to have held a similar Conference at Liege, Belgium, the following week, with the co-operation of the Union. The churches of Great Britain and Germany, under the inclusive title of "The Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations Between the Two Peoples," have been doing splendid work for the last five years. This work, though interrupted, will not be lost. When this war is over, we believe the churches will speak with a new conviction, to the effect that war is the "foulest fiend ever loosed from hell."

## Appendix I

Those English delegates who were present at the Conference are as follows: J. Allen Baker, Esq., M. P., London, N. W., Member of the British Parliament, Chairman of the British Council of the Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations Between the Two Peoples, Society of Friends; the Hon. Lady Barlow, London, W., Society of Friends; G. Blum, Esq., London, Secretary to the British Council of the Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations Between the Two Peoples, Society of Friends; Rev. Dr. John Clifford, London, W., Minister of Westbourne Park Church, Baptist; Rev. V. D. Davis, B. A., Bournemouth, Hampshire, Minister of Bournemouth Unitarian Church; Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M. P., London, S. W., Member of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Member of the British Parliament, Church of England; Miss J. M. Fry, Guildford, Society of Friends; Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon, London, N. E., Ex-Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; Rev. R. C. Gillie, M. A., London, W., Minister of Marylebone Presbyterian Church; Rev. Canon W. L. Grane, M. A., Cobham, Surrey, Canon of Chichester Cathedral, Hulsean Lecturer, 1913-1914, Church of England; Henry T. Hodgkin, Esq., M. A., M. B., London, N., Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association; Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. J. A. Kempthorne), Lichfield, Church of England; Rev. J. A. Mackeigan, B. A., St. John, New Brunswick (Canada), Presbyterian Church of Canada; Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M. A., London, N. W., Minister of the Hempstead Garden Suburb Free Church, Editor of the *Peacemaker,* Baptist; Miss Meriel Talbot, London, S. W., Secretary of the Victoria League, Church of England; Rev. J. G. Tasker, D. D., Handsworth, Birmingham, Principal of Handsworth Wesleyan College; Very Rev. The Dean of Worcester (Dr. William Moore Ede), Worcester, Church of England.

The Swedish delegates numbered two, namely: Rev. Principal

Benander, D.D., Stockholm, Principal of the Bethel Seminary, Baptist; Rev. Albert Wickman, Lund, Baptist. The Norwegians, one: Rev. Ole Olsen, Christiania, Methodist Episcopal Church.

The delegates from America were: Rev. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, New York, an editor of *The Outlook,* Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rev. David Baines-Griffiths, M. A., New York, Pastor of Edgehill Church, New York, on the Literary Staff of the New York *Tribune;* Rev. W. C. Bitting, D.D., St. Louis, Mo., Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, St. Louis, Mo., Corresponding Secretary of the Northern Baptist Convention, Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rev. William Adams Brown, D.D., LL.D., New York, Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Rev. Jonathan Day, D.D., New York City, Superintendent of the Labor Temple, New York City, Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rev. Samuel Dickie, LL.D., Albion, Mich., President of Albion College, Albion, Mich., Ex-Mayor of Albion; Rev. George William Douglas, D.D., New York, Canon of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Director of *The Churchman,* Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Christian Unity Foundation, New York; Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, D.D., Boston, Pastor of the Arlington Street Church (Unitarian), Boston; Robert H. Gardiner, Esq., Secretary of the Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church on World Conference on Faith and Order; Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., Representative on International Relationships for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Professor in Doshisha University and The Imperial University, Kyoto, Japan; Rev. James J. Hall, D.D., Director of the American Peace Society for the South Atlantic States; Rev. Thomas C. Hall, D.D., New York, Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Rev. E. R. Hendrix, D.D., LL.D., Senior Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Ex-President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Trustee of the Church Peace Union; William I. Hull, Esq., Ph.D., Swarthmore, Penn., Professor of History and Inter-

national Relationships, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penn., Trustee of The Church Peace Union; Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., Trustee and Secretary of The Church Peace Union, Editor of *The Christian Work,* Director of the New York Peace Society, President of the American-Scandinavian Foundation; D. Willard Lyon, Esq., Secretary of the Committee to Promote Friendly Relations among Foreign Students of the World Student Christian Federation; Rev. Henry M. MacCracken, D.D., LL.D., Ex-Chancellor of New York University; Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D., Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Trustee of The Church Peace Union; Edwin D. Mead, Esq., M. A., Boston, Mass., Chief Director of the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass., Member of the Berne Bureau, Director of the American Peace Society, Trustee of The Church Peace Union; Rev. William Pierson Merrill, D.D., New York, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, Trustee of The Church Peace Union; Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., Springfield, Mass., Pastor of the South Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass., Director of the American Peace Society, Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; George W. Nasmyth, Esq., Director of the International Bureau of Students; Rev. T. T. Richards, Scranton, Pa., Baptist Church; Rev. Claudius B. Spencer, D.D., LL.D., Kansas City, Mo., Editor of *The Central Christian Advocate,* Kansas City, Mo., Ex-Associate Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rev. Charles L. Thompson, D.D., LL.D., Representative of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States; Rev. Ezra Squier Tipple, D.D., LL.D., President of the Drew Theological Seminary, Trustee of Syracuse University, Recording Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. James L. Tryon, Ph.D., Director of the New England Department of the American Peace Society; Rev. George U. Wenner, D.D., New York, Pastor

of Christ Church (Lutheran), New York, Ex-President of the Synod of New York and New Jersey; Frank F. Williams, Esq., New York, Secretary of the Peace and Arbitration Society, Buffalo, New York; Rev. Luther B. Wilson, D.D., LL.D., New York, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Trustee of The Church Peace Union; Rev. Cornelius Woelfkin, D.D., LL.D., New York, Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York, Professor in Rochester Theological Seminary, Ex-President of the American Foreign Missionary Society; Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead; Mrs. Frank F. Williams; Rev. Anson D. Atterbury, Pastor Presbyterian Church, New York City.

The German delegate was Herr Pastor Lic. F. Siegmund-Schultze, Berlin, Secretary of the Associated Councils of Churches and Editor of *Die Eiche.**

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* Owing to the fact that the roll-call of the Conference is in the hands of Mr. Blum, who is detained in Germany, it is impossible to give the names of the French and Swiss delegates present. Several French delegates came, including M. Marius Dumesnil, Editor of *L'Universelle,* and were immediately called home. The list will be perfected as soon as possible.—*Editor.*

Appendix II

# Constructive Methods for Promoting International Peace

By Professor Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.
Representative of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

(Abstract of an address delivered before the Church Peace Conference at Constance, August 2, 1914.)

I approach this subject from the standpoint of twenty-six years of missionary service in Japan. My brain has become saturated with the Oriental view-point. The tragedy that is being enacted around us, and this enormous problem of the relations of the nations and the promotion of peace, I look at with eyes orientalized. But this is no disadvantage. Rather the reverse. It helps me to see things in a perspective impossible to those immersed in the Occident.

For the background of my remarks let me recall the impressive service of the morning, with that ninth chapter of Daniel and its confession of sin. How truly it describes our present condition! Should it not also express our contrition of heart? I would first note:

## I. FOUR SIGNIFICANT FACTORS

in the present world situation, which must be taken into account by those who would promote in effective and constructive ways permanent peace among the nations.

1. *The New Era.* Mankind has entered upon a new era in the history of its development. The modern *mastery of the secrets of Nature* with the *control* it gives of *titanic forces* has advanced to such a stage of practical efficiency that all the nations are equipped for destructive warfare as was never before even dreamed. With this control of power has come also the practical *collapse of space.* The thoughts and decisions of peoples far removed—even on opposite sides of the globe—are de-

clared to all the world in a few hours. Railroads and steamers make possible the transportation of foodstuffs and manufactures not only, but of vast armies, with incredible speed from land to land.

This is producing a *new contact of races.* The impact of diverse cultures and civilizations is causing mighty changes. Ideas, ideals, ambitions are communicated from people to people and from race to race. Even Asia, so long dormant, is awaking. The unity of each land and people is being compacted, and race consciousness developed; sense of wrong and injustice is growing in each land subjected to aggression and alien exploitation; resentment and demands for revenge are gaining headway.

New races are thus pushing to the front, demanding liberty and unity, sovereignty and recognition of their rights by others. Old supremacies are threatened. But the old powers are unwilling to relax their grasp and special privilege.

2. *Armaments for Preserving the Peace.* A second significant factor of the present situation is the enormous armament developed by each of the nations of Christendom. The combined armies of the six principal nations amount to 5,811,000 on a peace footing and to 13,091,000 on a war footing. Each people insists that its own armaments are intended only for self defence; that they are necessary for safety from powerful and treacherous neighbors; that readiness for war is the best way to promote peace. Has not the fallacy of this peace program exploded like a bomb? Is not the European conflict, now breaking out all around us so suddenly and terrifically, due exactly to the readiness for war? Each nation is so prepared for action that it has really acted upon rumors and even upon suspicions as to the plans of the foe. Readiness for war has been exactly the most potent cause of the present awful situation. The governments have plunged the nations into war without giving cool diplomacy a moment's time for exchange of views, for the clearing up of misunderstandings, and for

the proposals of solutions other than the appeal to arms. It has been possible to inflame the passions of the people by mere rumors, largely false, and impossible to quiet them by truth.

3. *The Peace Movement.* A third important factor of the times is the widespread movement in many lands urging the need of specific plans for peace. They propose arbitration treaties, international laws and an Arbitral Court of Justice at The Hague. This movement has sprung up and made considerable headway quite outside of the churches.

   We who are members of this Church Peace Congress cannot but rejoice in all that this Peace Movement has accomplished—the treaties made and the international difficulties already settled by arbitration. Yet is not the entire movement open to the criticism that its program is not in the deepest sense constructive? It would provide methods for solving international difficulties when they arise—by appealing to good sense and arbitrators instead of rushing to arms. While this movement, therefore, must be highly approved, must we not also insist that it fails to go to the root of the problem? Its peace program deals with superficial symptoms, not with the disease itself from which all wars spring. It would find methods of solving difficulties after they have arisen. But what we need is a method for preventing difficulties from arising and becoming acute.

4. *The Indifference and Inactivity Hitherto of the Churches.* The fourth factor in the modern situation demanding our attention is the amazing fact that in spite of the ominous armaments and rising international jealousies and prophesies of a speedy and overwhelming war of the nations, the churches of Christendom are both indifferent and inactive. They seem to regard the matter as no concern of theirs. Such movements as have taken place for the promotion of international peace are the work of men in many instances indifferent to religion and scornful of Christianity. And are they not largely justified in that attitude when we consider the apathy of the

churches as such to all the pressing social, industrial and military problems of the times.

Just think of it! Here we are on the very brink of a vast and frightful war. Prodigious military preparations have been under way for a generation, and almost unlimited expenses have been incurred. Yet this is the first time that Christians of different nations have come together as Christians to consult as to the possibility of some better way of solving international difficulties!

How are we to account for this apathy and inactivity of modern Christianity?

(1) *The Individualistic Interpretation of Christianity* is no doubt one important cause of the present Christian attitude to war preparation. Christianity is widely conceived as a means of salvation for the individual soul—a means for peace of mind here and perpetual peace hereafter—in heaven. The Church is supposed to have accomplished its duty if the individual soul is set right in inner feelings toward God.

(2) *The Kingdom of God* is conceived as a future state, not in this world here and now. Christian preachers have failed to understand and to teach this central truth in the teaching of Jesus, that the Kingdom of which He spoke is here and now, and concerns all the relations of man with man. The Church accordingly has not felt called to face and solve the pressing problems of industry, of labor and capital. It has not made love to man a test of love to God; nor honesty in business and politics a condition of church membership. The Church has failed to teach the duty of Christians to make their conduct Christian as well as their professed thinking. Intellectual orthodoxy—even though entirely formal and oftentimes hypocritical—has been and still is widely accepted by the churches of Christendom as adequate evidence of qualification for heaven. How far all this is from the moral demands and the moral fervor of Jesus, whom the Church professes to revere and obey!

The Church, moreover, has lost two vital truths of primitive Christianity. The first of these is

(3) *The Real Brotherhood of Man and Equality of Races.* A special revelation was needed, even after the full teaching of Jesus, to convince the leaders of the Apostolic Church that the Gentiles and Samaritans are "co-heirs" of the Kingdom. Not until those proud Jews learned to sit and *eat* with Samaritans whom they hated and Gentiles whom they despised, was the Apostolic Church ready for its wide missionary work and able to enter upon it. The problem of the races was the rock on which the early church well-nigh made shipwreck. Only they who accepted the revelation—which Paul designated as the great mystery of the ages—were able to share in the founding of the Church Universal. A new testing-time has come to the Church of Christendom on this very question. What think ye of the heathen?—of Asiatics?—of members of other nations? *Do you accept them as your brothers in fact as well as in abstract theory?* To-day the Church has largely taken the attitude of the Pharasees and Saducees whom Christ condemned. The neighboring nation are Samaritans to us and the heathen are Gentiles. Can the modern Church regain the ancient revelation of the real brotherhood of man?

(4) *To love one's enemies* was the superlative teaching of Jesus and a marked characteristic of early Christians. Is not this a teaching and a practice largely lost from the modern Church? In any case, so far as it is thought to apply, it is limited to individuals and not to peoples and nations. But even in this narrow sense, how widely is it actually practiced?

If now it is true that modern Christianity fails at the four points thus briefly described, is it strange that it is apathetic and impotent in these threatening times of hatred, bloodshed and destruction on a scale unprecedented?

## II. PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE PROGRAM FOR CHRISTIANS

If the conditions have been accurately diagnosed in the preceding paragraphs, is it not clear what this Conference should

stress in its appeal to the Churches of Christendom in behalf of peace?

1. Instead of surrendering the leadership in international peace movements to statesmen, economists and jurists, whose view-point is almost of a necessity utilitarian, political and legal, the churches should assume the leadership by providing the high altruistic inspiration of Christian ideals and motives. The churches may well leave to experienced statesmen and international jurists the determination of practical and technical details, the construction of the social machinery essential for the deepening and widening relations of nations and races. We may be certain, however, that this movement can never succeed so long as its inspiring motive is selfish national aggrandizement and blank utilitarian and materialistic, political and social economy.
2. Let us, accordingly, not fancy that statesmen and jurists can do all that is needed. We must recognize that they deal with matters of method and organization, and not with the deeper forces of life and passion. They cannot provide, therefore, the constructive, vital force, the healing life for the disease of the world. What the world needs is some power that will transform the feelings, ambitions, jealousies, passions of the races and nations. Hatred must be turned into love, desire for revenge into desire to help. Ambitions must be made holy and unselfish. The temptation of Satan to give victory through brute force and by fraud must be seen as false. Real and permanent world-power cannot be given by anything less than truth, justice and good-will. Where else shall we look for this teaching and this power than to the Church of the Christ who saw through and rejected the falacies of Satan's tempting suggestions?
3. But in order that the Church may do its work, what is more needful than the recovery of that vision of the early Church that all men are brothers and co-heirs in the Kingdom of God? God is no respector of persons, nor of peoples. *God has no pet race.* Neither the white race as a whole, nor any particular section of it, has any

special claim on God's favors, nor does it possess divine sanctions for special privilege. Can we of this Conference persuade the Churches of Christendom to accept this vision and apply it to life? Can we make Christendom believe in the equal rights with us even of Asiatics and Africans? If all professed Christians should become real Christians, the practical problems of the relations of the races of the world would soon be solved, and with it the problems of peace and war. For these are problems and serious ones. But their solution lies first of all in the realm of the heart and after that of the head. Not till the equal rights of every race are fully recognized will wars cease and rumors of wars.

4. Finally, professed Christians must recover the deepest of all Christian truths, the truth revealed on the cross by the death of the Redeemer of the world, that *only suffering love, the voluntary suffering of the innocent and the righteous in loyalty to truth and good-will to all of every race and nation, can redeem the world from its sin and error, and thus from its turmoil and its wars.* We must learn to do good to our enemies, to pray for them and actually help them. Instead of struggling for national and race supremacy established and maintained by brute force and wholesale murder, the Church must teach the nations that *true greatness,* national and racial as well as individual, *comes only from service,* and can be maintained only by service. To overcome enmity in hostile peoples, let us seek to do them good, even at great cost. If by good deeds we make enemies our friends, genuinely grateful for real help, how can we possibly fear them or they us? How can we possibly begrudge each other's prosperity and progress? How can they possibly desire to injure us? If the nations of Europe had been spending one-tenth of their war budgets on programs of international helpfulness, would war between them be conceivable?

But the Church herself must lead in this most profound and effective of all methods for promoting universal peace. We

may not say to the world "go"—but "come." *Let us first show the reality of our faith and the efficacy of our method, by actually doing what we preach, practicing what we profess.*

Nor let the churches or nations fancy that the peace problem is a question merely for the nations of Christendom in their home relations. It is a world problem. Europe's armaments have been developed, not exclusively for defence of Fatherland, but rather for possession of colonies in distant lands and ambitions for world-controling power. *All peace programs will prove futile that do not include provision for justice and good-will for Asia and Africa voluntarily granted.*

"Woe to them that say 'Peace, Peace,' when there is no peace," because injustice and brute force still reign and might alone makes right.

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." And above all,

"LOVE YOUR ENEMIES."

## Appendix III

# Report and Declaration of the American Delegates at the International Conference of The Church Peace Union to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and its Commission on Peace and Arbitration

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In behalf of the delegates from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the undersigned were appointed as a Special Committee to prepare and publish to our brethren at home a declaration and summary concerning the recent momentous Conference of The Church Peace Union, which Conference, begun at Constance on Sunday, August 2nd, was continued in London on Wednesday, August 5th. In so doing we are following the example of the English delegates to the Conference, whose terse and weighty utterance to the brethren in England was published in the *London Times, Daily Chronicle,* and other newspapers on August 5th.

In making this report we are authorized to speak substantially for the entire body of American delegates to the Church Peace Conference.

## AN HOUR FOR CALMNESS AND VISION

It is significant that this first International Conference of the Churches for the promotion of friendship and peace between the nations of the world occurred at a moment when we were all obliged to witness an amazing development of the war fever, and the widespread misery caused on all sides by the mere preparations for battle; and we have had a unique opportunity to witness the sincere and profound reluctance with which the sober and serious element in every nation concerned has

found itself involved in the imminent cataclysm. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, we are more than ever confident and convinced that this sober and serious element of every Christian nation is now, as always, moving under the guidance and blessing of Almighty God our Father. Our dismay is not despair. No note of pessimism has been heard at any of the four Sessions of our Conference; there is a general consciousness that now more than ever we are called to co-operate in the spirit of Jesus Christ, so that no self-will or bitterness or impatience on our part shall cloud our vision, or hinder us from seizing the opportunity which God is giving us to do his will in the world—waiting upon the Lord.

## OUR CHRISTIAN IDEALISM CONFIRMED

This war, so far from indicating the futility of our plans and endeavors, or the foolishness of Christian Idealism, is demonstrating that the methods of brute force, and of inconsiderate egotism, are as unintelligent and inefficient as they are unchristian. We are witnessing the *reductio ad absurdum* of unchristian civilization; for peace is not to be secured by preparations for war (even if unchristian men compel their brothers in self-defence, and for the sake of sacred treaties, to make ready for war.) Not that it is in the interests of peace to belittle the spirit of patriotism, but to Christianize it. Like our laws and our culture, our education and commerce and industrialism, so too our very patriotism must be pervaded by the mind of Christ and ready for the discipline of the Cross—the sign and symbol, not merely of brotherly love, but of international love, over against the short-sightedness and selfishness of individuals and peoples. As we disperse to our homes and fatherland that is the message we are bringing from this Conference; and it is first and foremost to call to international humiliation and prayer in the name and confidence of Christ. The time for men to prevent war is not when the events are culminating, but far, far back at the springs of human conduct, individual, national and international. Let us see to it that henceforth "all our fresh springs are in God."

## THE HARDER TASK OF THE CHURCHES OF EUROPE

This is not the moment to dwell on the practical steps which may be taken by us all in common to promote peace among the nations. Some such steps will appear in the four resolutions which are to be published in due time by the International Committee of our Conference. Others will be afterwards disclosed. Meanwhile we desire to emphasize the fact that has been borne in on us by contact with the workers of the Peace Movement in England and Europe generally—that more problems than we Americans were aware of are on the shoulders of those who, under God, are now leading the churches of Europe; and we are grateful to our Heavenly Father for the skill and wisdom and self-control which, in this trying ordeal, have been vouchsafed to them. For five years previous to the formation of our Church Peace Union, these our brethren on this side of the Atlantic have been paving the way for what is now our common task, and it is their actual knowledge of men and means in the different nations of Europe which made it possible for our first International Church Conference for the Promotion of Peace to be so widely and thoroughly representative.

## THE HOUR OF OUR OPPORTUNITY

We in America have much to contribute henceforth to the common cause, and by our freedom from entangling alliances, and from some traditions which in Europe are an inheritance, we may, if we are properly considerate, be able to do and say some things which Europeans cannot; but after our present privilege of communion with the delegates over here, we know and feel that there is a vast deal for them to do which would be beyond our power. Therefore the determination of our Conference to rely on the International Committee for guidance, and for ultimate decisions from time to time—the resolution to "move all together when we move at all"—is a determination which we are sure will commend itself to our brethren in the United States. In the very midst of this internecine conflict of the leading nations of Europe, there will be henceforth from each of them well-chosen and skillful delegates to our Inter-

national Council, ready and able to contribute of their special experience and prayers to our common endeavors for the peace of the world and the Christianization of all mankind.

Submitted to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and its Commission on Peace and Arbitration by Instruction of the American Delegates.

E. R. HENDRIX, *Chairman*
LUTHER B. WILSON
WM. PIERSON MERRILL
GEO. WILLIAM DOUGLAS
FREDERICK LYNCH
CHAS. S. MACFARLAND, *Secretary*

Committee appointed by the delegates representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Constance, Germany, August 2, 1914.
London, England, August 5, 1914.

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2. We are not bound to join in a general European war to defend the neutral
under them shall not compel us to take part in a general European war in order to k
must be prepared to fight France as well as Germany.

3. The Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey have both emphas
whatever, written or spoken, to go to war for France. We disclaim

Appendix V

# Some Sidelights on the Collapse of European Policies*

By Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.
Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

To one who has had some opportunity of witnessing at close hand, the negotiations and events culminating in the European conflagration, certain prophecies are seen to be in process of fulfillment, and some interpretations seem clear.

## THE MILITARIST PROGRAM

In the latter part of 1912 a book appeared in Germany, entitled "Germany and the Next War," which excited both consternation and fear in England and other European nations. It was written by General Friedrich von Bernhardi of the Militarist Party in Germany. Its forecast of events now being consummated was based on previous treatises on German history and politics by Germany's historian and philosopher, Prof. Treitschke, who averred that "God will see to it that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race."

It also bears the marks of the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche on German thought and policy and of his relentless philosophy of the survival of the fittest.

* This article contains both an analysis of the correspondence of Sir Edward Grey with the powers and a review of General von Bernhardi's "Germany and the Next War."—*Editor.*

The reading of Bernhardi's book is sufficient however, for he has set forth in concrete program the philosophy of Nietzsche and the historico-political system of Treitschke and now becomes both prophet and interpreter of many of the events of the present moment.

The Germans, Bernhardi asserts, have proved themselves the ruling people by two characteristics: The power of their arms and the loftiness of their ideas. They are now, however, in danger of decadence as to the latter because they have relinquished the former. They are deteriorating because they are too fond of peace.

The political world about them is ruled solely by "interests" and never by good-will. Germany is just; but the nations about her have no such aim. Moreover, Germany is under moral obligation to keep by war what she has won by war, and not only that, but to increase her winnings. War indeed is "the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture as well as power." The spiritual duties and moral obligations of Germany cannot be fulfilled without the drawing of the sword.

She is beset on all sides by deceitful powers, and the treaty proposals of the United States are only for the sinister purpose of political aggrandisement and not an expression of good-will. Those who saw any other meaning in President Taft's treaties are "theorists and fanatics."

Indeed, "war is a biological necessity of the first importance," or in the words of Heraclitus, "war is the father of all things." A state is ultimate and "no power exists which can judge between states."

Increase of population necessitates "new territory" and it can only be secured by conquest. "Might gives the right; it is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided only by the arbitrament of war."

Bernhardi evokes moral idealism on the basis of his biological as against the social basis of interracial and international relations. War not only follows biological law, but it is a moral obligation. And throughout he is speaking not of defensive but of offensive warfare and aggression.

Indeed, the peace spirit is bald materialism and the war spirit is the highest moral and spiritual idealism. How about the Christian law of love! It applies solely between individuals (of the same state) and has "no significance for the relations of one country to another." As a matter of fact, the leaders of peace (the United States specifically included) are concerned solely with the gross material prosperities and not with spiritual things.

Nietzsche appears in Bernhardi's frank avowal: "The idea that a weak nation has the same right to live as a powerful and vigorous nation is subversive of human development."

Thus the ultimate conclusion is that war is a nation's duty, and *"wars which have been deliberately provoked by far-seeing statesmen have had the happiest results."*

Individual ethics are reversed in the duties of states. "The end-all and the be-all of a state is *power."* The Christian duty of sacrifice is limited. It can have no higher object than a state. A sacrifice to an alien nation is immoral, because "self-preservation is the highest

ideal of a state." Therefore all relations between states are "latent war" and the higher the idealism of the state the less latent is the war.

Only one open question remains. Hesitancy is morally justified only if there be no "reasonable prospect of success."

Apply this to Germany. We (the Germans) have always been the divinely ordained custodians of spiritual ideals. Germany is losing these through peace. Meanwhile England has built an empire, not by spiritual weapons, but "by the power of money." The United States has "unscrupulously" done the same. Germany, the custodian of intellectual development, science and culture, has fallen behind, and frustrated God's plans because of her contentment in peace. She has been robbed, has lost her people, and has no colonial territory in which to dispose her new population.

The possessor of the highest things in the moral realm, she has failed in her moral obligation to spread her culture, which in the nature of things could only be conveyed and distributed to the spiritually needy world by arms, force and conquest. Sadly enough, she is surrounded by nations, who, so wretchedly in need of Germany's spiritual gifts, are thus deprived of them, but are also in danger of imposing their own sordid and decadent life on Germany. Such will be the fruits of peace. It is especially true of the surrounding Slavs. Therefore, "an expansion of German power is a political necessity" in the interest of a waiting humanity, and "what is to be thus attained must be fought for and won against a superior force of hostile interests and powers."

The weakness of the Triple Alliance is its limitation to defensive warfare, for "Pan-slavism is hard at work."

Our author treats the nations like chess on the board, showing the possible alliances and counter alliances in "the next war." The varying disposition of the nations is either for or against Germany and "the idea of a pacific agreement with England is a will-o'-the-wisp."

Germany faces her alternatives. It is either "World Power or Downfall." Her victory is the triumph of spiritual culture in the order of the world; her downfall is the decadence of human civilization. Only war can decide the issue. And in order that an impoverished humanity may thus receive its rightful inheritance of culture "France must be so completely crushed that she can never again cross our path." Incidentally, "a crash in Portugal might give us possession of Portuguese colonies," and Belgium must not be allowed to become the ground on which France and England can unite forces.

"Thus shall we discharge our great duties of the future, grow into a World Power, and stamp a great part of humanity with the impress of the German spirit."

It is either this or disaster and degradation for Germany, and forget it not—therefore for a great part of humanity.

Now then, her path of progress being threatened by formidable enemies, not only her future, but also her present position, call for the appeal to arms. The hostility of England may be assumed, but Russia would be hampered by Japan or China. In this "next war" Belgian neutrality will become a "paper bulwark.' Germany "will stand isolated in a great war of the

nations." Her attitude must be offensive and aggressive at the start.

Let Germany (1911) plan for it by training and education. To be fit for it her people must be at their highest; alcoholism must be fought and religion (in terms of the state) must be taught the young.

## THIS PROGRAM IN ACTION

In Bernhardi's book we have a clear commentary on the German attitude in the present crisis, and it is significant that our prophet gives as *the date when Germany must be ready as 1914.*

Our author and his colleagues were ready, and when a political complication in Austria offered the chance they sprang into the saddle at Berlin. The German attitude is apparently as relentless as the haggard philosophy of Nietzsche. It has the same *morale.* Humanity is to become the eternal debtor to Germany, and even though it be an unwilling recipient of German culture and spirit. To this holy end, materialism (industry, commerce, happiness, individual and family welfare) must yield to a spiritual power wielding the sword (bomb, mine and torpedo) in its hand.

## COULD IT HAVE BEEN AVERTED?

That "Imperial Germany" (not the German people) was prepared for this war is clear, as also that it was in a state of mind ready to glide from hesitation into action. Bernhardi, however, declares that, "England could never be drawn into a war unwillingly or without her consent."

## COULD ENGLAND AND THE OTHER POWERS HAVE AVERTED THIS WAR?

The nearest to an answer may be found in the correspondence between Sir Edward Grey and the various British ambassadors and the conferences between the latter and the German, Russian, Austrian, French and Italian heads of state, just published by parliament.

This document shows clearly that the lamentable failure to avert calamity was largely due to the delays of an intricate and confused diplomacy. For the pacific party in Germany co-operating with Prince Lichnowsky in London was strong enough in conjunction with those in Germany who did not believe her hour had yet come and who were at least reluctant, to have restrained Germany (and consequently Austria) had the powers been able to move with immediateness and in concert.

It is, morever, seriously to be doubted that the Kaiser personally precipitated the war. His professions need not be counted as false. He has probably felt that the mailing of the fist would preclude the necessity for using "the mailed fist." Only a few days ago he conveyed to the International Church Peace Conference at Constance (August 2d) his good wishes, through one of the assistant Court preachers, had advised German clerical delegates to attend it, and at the last moment conveyed word to the delegates that a message from the churches urging peace would be received by him with gratification.

In the negotiations conducted by Sir Edward Grey, each act is taken and each letter arrives, again and again just too late. The time is always a little too short.

Austria gave Servia only twenty-four short hours to meet an ultimatum, and no statesman was able to act and

think quickly enough to interpose between these two irresponsible agents.

Beginning July 20, with the request of Sir Edward that the case between Austria and Servia be given full time for consideration, the negotiators are constantly pleading for time. At first Germany declines to interfere on the ground that Austria-Hungary has been sufficiently forbearing with Servia, although Great Britain urges that Austria's demands are too peremptory.

Germany continues to justify Austria, until her modification is too late to avail.

Sir Edward then turns to Servia with the hope that she will answer "as favorably as possible" and consult with Russia and France before replying.

Then begins a series of communications between London, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Paris, Rome and Belgrade, each important one coming just a little too late to secure result and thus necessitating another with a different proposal, likewise too tardy.

Russia could secure some moderation at Belgrade were not Austria's time limit so short. Germany thinks Austria must be allowed to chastise Servia anyway, but agrees to localization. Meanwhile Austria-Hungary demands unconditional acceptance of her demands by Servia; so Sir Edward Grey pleads for a conciliatory reply from Servia to save the peace, it being tacitly acknowledged now that any war means general war, all the powers holding this opinion except Germany, who still urges localization.

Mediation between Servia and Austria abandoned, the next step is mediation between Russia and Austria, and Russia asks an extension of time for Austria's ultimatum

to Servia. Again too late, for Servia's reply comes. England, backed all along by all the powers but Germany, asks Austria to receive it favorably, but are rebuffed. Germany is willing simply to act as a conveyor of England's hope to Austria and will simply "pass it on" without comment.

England now urged suspension of military action, pending a conference of French, German, Italian and English representatives; but Russia decides she must take preventive measures against an attack in Servia. The German Secretary of. State opposes the proposed conference and would substitute direct "conversations" between Vienna and St. Petersburg. Again too late, for Austria has declared war (the 28th) on Servia.

Up to this time Germany has made no restraining effort and the other powers all urge that "the key to the situation is at Berlin," whence word is conveyed, as late as July 28th, that Servia might accept the whole of the Austrian note, through the powers, if accompanied by "explanations."

The German Secretary of State, having objected to the method of conference suggested by the other powers, is asked to suggest one, but to this he does not respond, except by giving various reasons for objection to the method suggested. On the 29th the German Chancellor is of the opinion that it is now too late for proposals to Austria and that for him to press her now would not deter but be more likely to precipitate action.

During this delay Russia mobilizes against Austria, and almost simultaneously, in answer to a repeated request for a suggestion as to method, Germany makes the surprising suggestion that if Great Britain remains

neutral, Germany will agree to acquire no territory at the expense of France other than colonial, and observes that German operations in Belgium will depend upon France. Sir Edward Grey's reply is that the only way to assure good relations is "to work together for peace."

The other powers now urge upon England that the best way to restrain German action is to intimate Great Britain's participation in case of war. Sir Edward, however, steadfastly refuses to do or say anything except to urge peace.

Austria now must mobilize because of Russia's preventive measures, and on the 30th Austria declines further "conversations" with St. Petersburg. And now, strangely enough, Germany takes a positive stand and advises moderation at Vienna—again too late. But at the same moment the German Chancellor announces that because Russia is arming Germany must act, and on the next day, the 31st, "Kriegsgefahr" is declared in Germany.

So the checkers are played and Russia makes the next move by ordering general mobilization. Germany, herself, at least preparing for the same action, calls on Russia to demobilize and asks France for a statement of her intentions.

Russia offers to assume a waiting attitude, pending new arrangements, and on August 1st it appears that Russia and Austria (due probably to Germany) will converse again. But again it is too late, for Germany is already mobilizing. (I found the printed posters of full directions posted in Constance, Sunday morning, August 2nd.)

Too late again, Austria-Hungary will accept mediation, but meanwhile France has begun mobilizing, Germany

has gone too far, and each train, itself too late, has made all the following ones too late, and now the last one is too late. Could not one have been omitted from the schedule? No, not with the methods of European diplomacy. On the 4th of August, Germany violates the neutrality of Belgium and England herself is at war. Such was the outcome of bungling diplomatic procedure, with its belated proposals and with each proposed action precluded by some interposing hasty act or utterance.

Can the blame be located? All the powers seem to have sought mediation except Germany and Austria. Germany was in favor of it aside from Austrio-Servian matters. German co-operation was essential to success. She was constantly urged. Russia offers to restrain Servia, but Germany cannot do so with Austria. Germany objects to the proposed mode of conference but suggests no other.

Austria opposes every pacific plan until too late, and then offers to do what, if done earlier, would have saved the peace of Europe. That the spirit of war in more than one direction was vital, even in the movements for peace, is made sadly evident by the repeated unheeded request for suspension of military action to Austria, Russia and Germany.

Who then is the real aggressor? Quite clearly Austria in point of time. For the sins of commission Germany is culpable. But for the sins of omission, the other powers must all assume their proportionate share, as we shall see in a moment. For the powers could have turned the tide had they not had the weights of diplomatic amenity tied to their feet. Formality secured the fateful delays. If only one voice had really spoken to all

the rest, at once, with directness and frankness! But bureaucracy and autocracy do not create prophets in politics.

And our own President's belated suggestion was a sadly appropriate conclusion to the tenderly introduced delays and defeats of European diplomatic ethics. The representatives of the powers meant well, but they did it feebly. To this, exception should very likely be made of the German ambassador at Vienna and the German Chancellor, who are under the suspicion of having used some duplicity.

Was the Kaiser personally responsible, or was he carried along by militant advisers? If his intimate friend and counselor, Von Bülow, reflects the Kaiser in his recent book "Imperial Germany," it would seem probable that the German ruler had been misled by the popular fallacy that the possession of the sword would make way for the power of intellect and spirit, without the use of the sword, and that he saw his error all too late.

## LET US PREVENT WAR BY READINESS FOR IT

Why did pacific effort fail? Simply because the machinery of European diplomacy was geared up for war negotiations and not for peace. Diplomatic restraint was slow because unprepared. Hostile action was speedy because diplomacy was adapted to it.

Our semi-peace advocates have urged upon their foolish peace-fellows that Preparation for war is a Preventative procedure. That fallacy has at least shown its shallowness.

It was the readiness of the nations for war that made their action so much speedier than the telegraph could convey their messages of peace. When I left London on Friday there was little public apprehension beyond that of conflict between Austria and Servia and gold was circulating freely. But in Paris that very day the banks were without a twenty-franc piece for distribution. In the middle of the same night I was hastily ejected from my sleeping berth at Belfort because the Germans had already blown up the tracks upon the frontier, and on Saturday morning French troops were in preparation all about us. On Sunday morning printed plans were posted all over Germany, containing detailed plans for complete mobilization, and it was learned that French troops were on the border of Alsace on Friday night.

Leaving Germany on the last train on Monday we passed from Constance to Cologne through rows of German bayonets by day, while reluctant conscripts were shot at station platforms before our eyes, and when evening came we were in the lurid glare of searchlights sweeping the heavens for hostile airships, and that not vainly.

Soldiers, guns, cannons sprang from the ground! On Tuesday we entered the Thames, guided over mines, and before we were out of sight of Flushing the advance of the German fleet was there, and we reached London, which we had left four days ago, to find England at war with Germany.

This readiness for spontaneous action was what prevented the pacific efforts of diplomacy. And yet, our demi-peace friends told us that to prepare for war was to induce peace.

At this point misunderstanding enters upon the trail of a confused and bewildered diplomacy. The Kaiser says he pressed the button of mobilization only because Russia was arming in his direction. Russia says she did not, but only directed a defense toward Austria. The Kaiser had not been so informed however, and now it is too late. Military action is automatic. Pacification enters each time too late. Put it either way you choose; every message comes just too late—or—every act is taken just too soon. It began that way; Austria did not give Servia time enough and thereafter each movement was made just about a day too soon.

## AN INSECURE POLITICAL ORDER

This failure of a perplexed and circuitous diplomacy, with its misunderstandings and blunders, is but one element in a political order which has now broken down, because based on suspicion, pride and human blindness, instead of assuming good-will, mutual confidence and moral vision.

Bernhardi's book gives in bald form a picture of that political order. He assumes as a postulate, a relationship between nations which they would have repudiated, but which, in varying degree, they continued to assume.

The people of these nations do not, or at least did not, want war. They only think they do. The Austrian Emperor's call to *"his people"* was feigned and specious. The Kaiser's manifesto tried to state facts in such a way as not to tell the truth, and it probably succeeded with his deluded people. Even Sir Edward Grey hesitated to utter the full content of the British people's real thought and will at its best. It bore the veil of diplomacy.

Europe at this moment has just one hope: That the United States may utter a persuasive voice that will call the peoples—no, not the peoples—but the blind and headstrong leaders of Europe to their senses before they go deeper into a conflict that will leave liabilities that cannot be computed, without one single asset in sight for any nation.

And, least of all, can we, by taking from our own people the necessities of life, aid and abet and prolong the carnage, and the suffering by the supplying of either goods or gold to the mad contestants, without involving our own nation in the most criminal, unnecessary war in all the annals of history.

No vision or voice was there in Europe. Her churches were not ready. The poor socialists tried to speak for humanity and to protest against being drafted to kill their brothers. And it is still possible that revolution within the nations may do a holy work. But so far these poor voices have been stifled, and no other voice has spoken.

Does the United States of America live for this moment? Can we speak in the clear vocabulary of politics the word of spiritual persuasion? Can we see with ethical lucidity? Have we the courage to refuse explicitly to impoverish ourselves to feed the flames of war? Have we any message to send in behalf of millions of sons, husbands, fathers, who do not know what they are killing their brothers for, and whose political leaders are equally dumb to speak and blind to discern?

Let the United States create a new status, something that shall be the opposite extreme to "hostility," that shall have more than the negative position of "neutrality,"

that shall express good-will to all the peoples, and the sincere purpose, unveiled by political diplomacy, to become the common ground for the establishment of both justice and peace among them. Let us create a new international status of *"reconciliation."*

S. S. Laconia, August 16, 1914.

Appendix VI

# The Famous Austro-Hungarian Ultimatum to Servia and Servia's Reply

(Inasmuch as this ultimatum of Austria-Hungary may be said to have been the real cause of the great European war and has great historic significance it is printed here in full, with Servia's reply.—*Editor.*)

On March 31, 1909, the Royal Servian Minister in Vienna, on the instructions of the Servian Government, made the following statements to the Imperial and Royal Government:

"Servia recognizes that the fait accompli regarding Bosnia has not affected her rights, and consequently she will conform to the decisions that the powers will take in conformity with Article XXV. of the Treaty of Berlin. At the same time that Servia submits to the advice of the powers she undertakes to renounce the attitude of protest and opposition which she has adopted since October last. She undertakes on the other hand to modify the direction of her policy with regard to Austria-Hungary and to live in future on good neighborly terms with the latter."

The history of recent years, and in particular the painful events of June 28 last, have shown the existence in Servia of a subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of Austria-Hungary from the monarchy. The movement, which had its birth under the eyes of the Servian Government, has had consequences on both sides of the Servian frontier in the shape of acts of terrorism and a series of outrages and murders.

Far from carrying out the formal undertakings contained in the declaration of March 31, 1909, the Royal Servian Government has done nothing to repress these movements. It has permitted the criminal machinations of various societies and associations, and has tolerated unrestrained language on the part of the press, apologies for the perpetrators of outrages, and

the participation of officers and functionaries in subversive agitation. It has permitted an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction. In short, it has permitted all the manifestations which have incited the Servian population to hatred of the monarchy and contempt of its institutions.

This culpable tolerance of the Royal Servian Government had not ceased at the moment when the events of June 28 last proved its fatal consequences to the whole world.

It results from the depositions and confessions of the criminal perpetrators of the outrage of June 28 that the Sarajevo assassinations were hatched in Belgrade, that the arms and explosives with which the murderers were provided had been given to them by Servian officers and functionaries belonging to the Narodna Odbrana, and, finally, that the passage of the criminals and their arms into Bosnia was organized and effected by the chiefs of the Servian frontier service.

The above-mentioned results of the magisterial investigation do not permit the Austro-Hungarian Government to pursue any longer the attitude of expectant forebearance which it has maintained for years in face of the machinations hatched in Belgrade and thence propagated in the territory of the monarchy. These results, on the contrary, impose on it the duty of putting an end to intrigues which form a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the monarchy.

To achieve this end, the Imperial and Royal Government sees itself compelled to demand from the Servian Government a formal assurance that it condemns this dangerous propaganda against the monarchy and the territories belonging to it, and that the Royal Servian Government shall no longer permit these machinations and this criminal and perverse propaganda.

In order to give a formal character to this undertaking the Royal Servian Government shall publish on the front page of its official journal for July 26 the following declaration:

"The Royal Government of Servia condemns the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, i. e., the ensemble of tendencies of which the final aim is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories belonging to it, and it sincerely deplores the fatal consequences of these criminal proceedings.

"The Royal Government regrets that Servian officers and

functionaries participated in the above-mentioned propaganda and thus compromised the good, neighborly relations to which the Royal Government was solemnly pledged by its declaration of March 31, 1909. The Royal Government, which disapproves and repudiates all idea of interfering or attempt to interfere with the destinies of the inhabitants of any part whatsoever of Austria-Hungary, considers it its duty formally to warn officers and functionaries, and the whole population of the kingdom, that henceforth it will proceed with the utmost rigor against persons who may be guilty of such machinations, which it will use all its efforts to anticipate and suppress."

This declaration shall simultaneously be communicated to the Royal Army as an order of the day by his Majesty the King, and shall be published in the official bulletin of the army.

The Royal Servian Government further undertakes:

1. To suppress any publications which incite to hatred and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the general tendency of which is directed against its territorial integrity.

2. To dissolve immediately the society styled Narodna Odbrana, to confiscate all its means of propaganda, and to proceed in the same manner against other societies and their branches in Servia which are addicted to propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Royal Government shall take the necessary measures to prevent the societies dissolved from continuing their activity under another name and form.

3. To eliminate without delay from public instruction in Servia, not only as regards the teaching body, but also as regards the methods of instruction, everything that serves or might serve to foment the propaganda against Austria-Hungary.

4. To remove from the military service and from the administration in general, all officers and functionaries guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian Government reserves to itself the right of communicating to the Royal Government.

5. To accept the collaboration in Servia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy.

6. To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the

plot on June 28 who are on Servian territory. Delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Government will take part in the investigation relating thereto.

7. To proceed without delay to the arrest of Major Voiija Tankositch and of the individual named Milan Ciganovitch, a Servian State employe, who have been compromised by the results of the Magisterial inquiry at Sarajevo.

8. To prevent by effective measures the co-operation of the Servian authorities in the illicit traffic in arms and explosives across the frontier, to dismiss and punish severely officials of the frontier service at Achabatz and Loznica guilty of having assisted the perpetrators of the Sarajevo crime by facilitating the passage of the frontier for them.

9. To furnish the Austro-Hungarian Government with explanations regarding the unjustifiable utterances of high Servian officials, both in Servia and abroad, who, notwithstanding their official position, did not hesitate after the crime of June 28 to express themselves in interviews in terms of hostility to the Austro-Hungarian Government; and finally:

10. To notify the Austro-Hungarian Government without delay of the execution of the measures comprised under the preceding heads.

The Austro-Hungarian Government expects the reply of the Servian Government at the latest by six o'clock on Saturday evening, the twenty-fifth of July.

## SERVIA'S REPLY

Servia's reply to the Austrian ultimatum of July 12th was issued July 25th, and embraced the following terms:

The Royal Servian Government has received the communication of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government of the tenth of this month, and it is persuaded that its reply will remove all misunderstandings tending to threaten or to prejudice the friendly and neighborly relations between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Servia.

The Royal Government is aware that the protests made both at the tribune of the National Skupshtina and in the declarations and the acts of responsible representatives of the State—protests which were cut short by the declaration of the Servian

Government made on March 18th—have not been renewed toward the great neighboring monarchy on any occasion, and that since this time, both on the part of the Royal Government which have followed on one another, and on the part of their organs, no attempt has been made with the purpose of changing the political and judicial state of things in this respect.

The Imperial and Royal Government has made no representations save concerning a scholastic book regarding which the Imperial and Royal Government has received an entirely satisfactory explanation. Servia has repeatedly given proofs of her pacific and moderate policy during the Balkan crisis, and it is thanks to Servia and the sacrifice she made exclusively in the interest of the peace of Europe that this peace has been preserved. The Royal Government cannot be held responsible for manifestations of a private nature, such as newspaper articles and the peaceful work of societies—manifestations which occur in almost all countries as a matter of course, and which, as a general rule, escape official control—all the less in that the Royal Government, when solving a whole series of questions which came up between Servia and Austria-Hungary, has displayed a great readiness to treat (prevenance), and in this way succeeded in settling the greater number to the advantage of the progress of the two neighboring countries.

It is for this reason that the Royal Government has been painfully surprised by the statements, according to which persons of the kingdom of Servia are said to have taken part in the preparation of the outrage committed at Serajevo. It expected that it would be invited to collaborate in the investigation of everything bearing on this crime, and it was ready to prove by its actions its entire correctness to take steps against all persons with regard to whom communications had been made to it, thus acquiescing in the desire of the Imperial and Royal Government.

The Royal Government is disposed to hand over to the courts any Servian subject, without regard to his situation and rank, for whose complicity in the crime of Serajevo it shall have been furnished with proofs, and especially it engages itself to have published on the front page of the *Official Journal* of July 13-26, the following announcement:

"The Royal Servian Government condemns all propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, that is to say, all tendencies as a whole of which the ultimate object is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories which form part of it, and it sincerely deplores the fatal consequence of these criminal actions. The Royal Government regrets that Servian officers and officials should, according to the communication of the Imperial and Royal Government, have participated in the above-mentioned propaganda, thereby compromising the good neighborly relations to which the Royal Government solemnly pledged itself by its declaration of the thirty-first of March, 1909. The Government, which disapproves and repudiates any idea or attempt to interfere in the destinies of the inhabitants of any part of Austria-Hungary whatsoever, considers it its duty to utter a formal warning to the officers, the officials, and the whole population of the kingdom that henceforth it will proceed with the utmost rigor against persons who render themselves guilty of such actions, which it will use all its efforts to prevent and repress."

This announcement shall be brought to the cognizance of the Royal Army by an order of the day issued in the name of his Majesty the King by H. R. H. the Crown Prince Alexander, and shall be published in the next official bulletin of the army.

1. The Royal Government engages itself, furthermore, to lay before the next regular meeting of the Skupshtina an amendment to the press law, punishing in the severest manner incitements to hate and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and also all publications of which the general tendency is directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy. It undertakes at the forthcoming revision of the Constitution to introduce in Article XXII. of the Constitution an amendment whereby the above publications may be confiscated, which is at present categorically forbidden by the terms of Article XXII. of the Constitution.

2. The Government does not possess any proof, nor does the note of the Imperial and Royal Government furnish such, that the society Narodna Odbrana and other similar societies have up to the present committed any criminal acts of this kind through the instrumentality of one of their members.

Nevertheless, the Royal Government will accept the demand of the Imperial and Royal Government and will dissolve the Narodna Odbrana Society and any other society which shall agitate against Austria-Hungary.

3. The Royal Servian Government engages itself to eliminate without delay for public instruction in Servia everything which aids or might aid in fomenting the propaganda against Austria-Hungary when the Imperial and Royal Government furnishes facts and proofs of this propaganda.

4. The Royal Government also agrees to remove from the military service (all persons) whom the judicial inquiry proves to have been guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and it expects the Imperial and Royal Government to communicate at an ulterior date the names and the deeds of these officers and officials, for the purposes of the proceedings which will have to be taken.

5. The Royal Government must confess that it is not quite clear as to the sense and object of the demands of the Imperial and Royal Government that Servia should undertake to accept on her territory the collaboration of delegates of the Imperial and Royal Government, but it declares that it will admit whatever collaboration which may be in accord with the principles of international law and criminal procedure, as well as with good neighborly relations.

6. The Royal Government, as goes without saying, considers it to be its duty to open an inquiry against all those who are, or shall eventually prove to have been, involved in the plot of June 28, and who are in Servian territory. As to the participation at this investigation of agents of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, delegated for this purpose by the Imperial and Royal Government, the Royal Government cannot accept this demand, for it would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure. Nevertheless, in concrete cases it might be found possible to communicate the results of the investigation in question to the Austro-Hungarian representatives.

7. On the very evening that the note was handed in the Royal Government arrested Major Voiija Tankositch. As for

Milan Ciganovitch, who is a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and who, until June 15th, was employed as a beginner in the administration of the railways, it has not yet been possible to arrest him. In view of the ultimate inquiry the Imperial and Royal Government is requested to have the goodness to communicate in the usual form, as soon as possible, the presumptions of guilt as well as the eventual proofs of guilt against these persons which have been collected up to the present in the investigations at Sarajevo.

8. The Servian Government will strengthen and extend the measures taken to prevent the illicit traffic of arms and explosives across the frontier. It goes without saying that it will immediately order an investigation, and will severely punish the frontier officials along the line Schabatz-Losnitza who have been lacking in their duties and who allowed the authors of the crime of Sarajevo to pass.

9. The Royal Government will willingly give explanations regarding the remarks made in interviews by its officials, both in Servia and abroad, after the attempt, and which, according to the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government, were hostile toward the monarchy, as soon as the Imperial and Royal Government has (forwarded) it the passages in question of these remarks and as soon as it has shown that the remarks made were in reality made by the officials regarding whom the Royal Government itself will see about collecting proofs.

10. The Royal Government will inform the Imperial and Royal Government of the execution of the measures comprised in the preceding points, in as far as that has not already been done by the present note, as soon as each measure has been ordered and executed.

In the event of the Imperial and Royal Government not being satisfied with this reply, the Royal Servian Government, considering that it is to the common interest not to precipitate the solution of this question, is ready, as always, to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of The Hague International Tribunal or to the great powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Servian Government on the 18-31, March, 1909.

Appendix VII

# To Men and Women of Goodwill in the British Empire

A Message from the Religious Society of Friends

We find ourselves to-day in the midst of what may prove to be the fiercest conflict in the history of the human race. Whatever may be our view of the processes which have led to its inception, we have now to face the fact that war is proceeding upon a terrific scale and that our own country is involved in it.

We recognize that our Government has made most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and has entered into the war under a grave sense of duty to a smaller state towards which we had moral and treaty obligations. While, as a Society, we stand firmly to the belief that the method of force is no solution of any question, we hold that the present moment is not one for criticism, but for devoted service to our nation.

What is to be the attitude of Christian men and women and of all who believe in the brotherhood of humanity? In the distress and perplexity of this new situation, many are so stunned as scarcely to be able to discern the path of duty. In the sight of God we should seek to get back to first principles, and to determine on a course of action which shall prove us to be worthy citizens of His Kingdom. In making this effort let us remember those groups of men and women, in all the other nations concerned, who will be animated by a similar spirit, and who believe with us that the fundamental unity of men in the family of God, is the one enduring reality, even when we are forced into an apparent denial of it.

Although it would be premature to make any pronouncement upon many aspects of the situation on which we have no sufficient data for a reliable judgment, we can, and do, call ourselves and you to a consideration of certain principles which may safely be enunciated.

1.—The conditions which have made this catastrophe possible must be regarded by us as essentially unchristian. This war spells the bankruptcy of much that we too lightly call Christian. No nation, no Church, no individual can be wholly exonerated. We have all participated to some extent in these conditions. We have been content, or too little discontented, with them. If we apportion blame, let us not fail first to blame ourselves, and do seek the forgiveness of Almighty God.

2.—In the hour of darkest night it is not for us to lose heart. Never was there greater need for men of faith. To many will come the temptation to deny God, and to turn away with despair from the Christianity which seems to be identified with bloodshed on so gigantic a scale. Christ is crucified afresh to-day. If some forsake Him and flee, let it be more clear that there are others who take their stand with Him, come what may.

3.—This we may do by continuing to show the spirit of love to all. For those whose conscience forbids them to take up arms there are other ways of serving, and definite plans are already being made to enable them to take their full share in helping their country at this crisis. In pity and helpfulness towards the suffering and stricken in our country we shall all share. If we stop at this, "what do we more than others?" Our Master bids us pray for and love our enemies. May we be saved from forgetting that they too are the children of our Father. May we think of them with love and pity. May we banish thoughts of bitterness, harsh judgments, the revengeful spirit. To do this is in no sense unpatriotic. We may find ourselves the subjects of misunderstanding. But our duty is clear—to be courageous in the cause of love and in the hate of hate. May we prepare ourselves even now for the day when once more we shall stand shoulder to shoulder with those with whom we are now at war, in seeking to bring in the Kingdom of God.

4.—It is not too soon to begin to think out the new situation which will arise at the close of the war. We are being compelled to face the fact that the human race has been guilty of a gigantic folly. We have built up a culture, a civilization, and even a religious life, surpassing in many respects that of any previous age, and we have been content to rest it all upon a foundation of sand. Such a state of society cannot endure, so

long as the last word in human affairs is brute force. Sooner or later it was bound to crumble. At the close of this war we shall be faced with a stupendous task of reconstruction. In some ways it will be rendered supremely difficult by the legacy of ill-will, by the destruction of human life, by the tax upon all in meeting the barest wants of the millions who will have suffered through the war. But in other ways it will be easier. We shall be able to make a new start and make it all together. From this point of view we may even see a ground of comfort in the fact that our nation is involved. No country will be in a position which will compel others to struggle again to achieve the inflated standard of military power existing before the war. We shall have an opportunity of reconstructing European culture upon the only possible permanent foundation—mutual trust and goodwill. Such a reconstruction would not only secure the future of European civilization, but would save the world from the threatened catastrophe of seeing the great nations of the East building their new social order also upon sand, and thus turning the thought and wealth needed for their education and development into that which could only be a fetter to themselves and a menace to the West. Is it too much to hope for that we shall, when this time comes, be able as brethren together to lay down far-reaching principles for the future of mankind, such as will insure us forever against a repetition of this gigantic folly? If this is to be accomplished it will need the united and persistent pressure of all who believe in such a future for mankind. There will still be multitudes who can see no good in the culture of other nations, and who are unable to believe in any genuine brotherhood among those of different races. Already those, who think otherwise, must begin to think and plan for such a future if the supreme opportunity of the final peace is not to be lost, and if we are to be saved from being again sucked down into the whirlpool of military aggrandisement and rivalry. In time of peace all the nations have been preparing for war. In the time of war let all men of goodwill prepare for peace. The Christian conscience must be awakened to the magnitude of the issues. The great friendly democracies in each country must be ready to make their influences felt. Now is the time to speak of this thing, to work for it, to pray for it.

5.—If this is to happen it seems to us of vital importance that the war should not be carried on in any vindictive spirit, and that it should be brought to a close at the earliest possible moment. We should have it clearly before our minds from the beginning that we are not going into it in order to crush and humiliate any nation. The conduct of negotiations has taught us the necessity of prompt action in international affairs. Should the opportunity offer, we, in this nation, should be ready to act with promptitude in demanding that the terms suggested are of a kind which it will be possible for all parties to accept, and that the negotiations be entered upon in the right spirit.

6.—We believe in God. Human freewill gives us power to hinder the fulfilment of His loving purposes. It also means that we may actively co-operate with Him. If it is given to us to see something of a glorious possible future, after all the desolation and sorrow that lie before us, let us be sure that sight has been given us by Him. No day should close without our putting up our prayer to Him that He will lead His family into a new and better day. At a time when so severe a blow is being struck at the great causes of moral, social, and religious reform for which so many have struggled, we need to look with expectation and confidence to Him, whose cause they are, and find a fresh inspiration in the certainty of His victory.

August 7, 1914.

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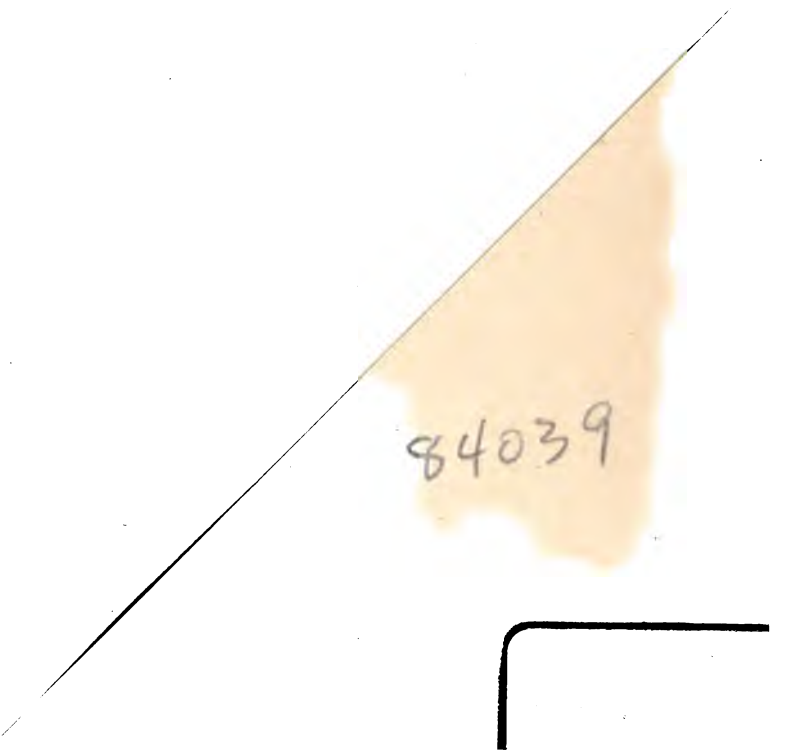
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